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IBIBIO VERB MORPHOLOGY

DONALD C. SIMMONS *

SYNOPSIS

This article describes the affixes and tone changes involved in the construction of Ibibio tenses. Ibibio, a language spoken in Nigeria, is affiliated with Efik and Oron in the Ibibio-Efik dialect cluster. The concluding table indicates the tones of pronominal prefixes and verb roots in the various tenses, and gives an example for each tense of an inherent high-toned monosyllabic verb root.

The Ibibio [1] inhabit Calabar Province, Nigeria, and speak a language classifiable in the Central Branch (Cross River languages) of Greenberg's Niger-Congo family,[2] and affiliated with Efik, Enyong, Andono-Ibeno, Anang, Eket and Oron.[3] This description is based on the speech of Mr. Dimo Udoh Eyo of Etobodom, Uyo District, who also speaks fluent English as well as some Oron. The degree of homology between the dialect spoken in Etobodom and the Ibibio spoken in other areas is unknown, but comparison with the data presented by Jeffreys reveals a high degree of similarity.[4] Intermittently between February and May, 1953, the writer transcribed approximately 10,000 words of text in addition to a vocabulary of 2,200 morphemes. Although it is not assumed that all possible tenses and tone permutations are herein delineated, it is believed the majority of verb constructions are described. The writer desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to Ward's study of Efik [5] and Lounsbury's study of Oneida verb morphology,[6] since each has served as a model for the presentation of certain aspects of Ibibio morphology.

Ibibio phonemes comprise seven oral vowels /*i*, *ɛ*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *ɔ*, *u*/, six plosive consonants /*b*, *p*, *kp*, *d*, *t*, *k*/, three nasal consonants /*m*, *n*, *ŋ*/, three fricative consonants / *f*, *s*, *h*/, and two semivowel consonants /*w*, *y*/. The phoneme /*d*/ contains two allophones; the allophone [*d*] occurs in initial and intervocalic position while the allophone [*ɾ*] occurs only in intervocalic position in free variation with the allophone [*d*]. The phoneme /*h*/ is a velar fricative and possesses two allophones, one un-

* Mr. Donald C. Simmons is a graduate of Yale University, now appointed to the staff of the Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Alabama. He has recently published several papers on the languages and folklore of peoples of Calabar Province, Nigeria, where he did field work in 1952–53.

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[2] Greenberg, 1949, p. 89.

[3] Westermann and Bryan, 1952, p. 133. Oron is added to the list of Efik-Ibibio dialects on the basis of the writer's personal knowledge (cf. D. C. Simmons: "Oron Verb Morphology", *Africa*, 16, 3, 1956).

[4] Jeffreys 1935, pp. 63–109.

[5] Ward, 1933.

[6] Lounsbury, 1953.

voiced and the other partially voiced, apparently occurring in free variation depending upon speed of utterance. The allophones of vowel phonemes are the same as in Efik.[1] Consonant and vowel length are lexically significant in certain tenses.

Pitch is phonemic. The following notation marks tones: low, no notation; high, *1*; midhigh (a tone halfway between mid and high tones), *2*; mid, *3*; rising, *4*; falling, *5*; midhigh-one (a tone halfway between midhigh and high tones), *6*; high-one (a tone slightly higher than high tone), *7*; and low-one (a tone halfway between low and mid tones), *8*.

AFFIRMATIVE TENSE

The verb root is the imperative singular, and is either monosyllabic or disyllabic. Vowels in disyllabic roots of the form CVCV are always members of the same phoneme. The tone of the imperative singular is the inherent or normal tone of the root. Three types of root tones exist: high, low, rising (low-mid in disyllables). An analysis of 577 roots reveals 183 monosyllabic high, 137 monosyllabic low, 8 monosyllabic rising, 138 disyllabic high, and 111 disyllabic rising.

Twenty-four of these five hundred seventy-seven roots possess both singular and plural forms; the number of the subject determines whether the singular or plural form of intransitive roots is used, but the number of the object determines which form of transitive root is used. Singular person acting on singular object requires singular verb form, but singular or plural person acting on plural object requires plural verb form. Some of the more frequent singular-plural roots, with the plural form in parentheses, are:

1 1
bɛn (*taŋ*) take

1 1 1
dɛp (*dɛmɛ*) buy

1 1 1
dwɔk (*dwɔŋɔ*) throw away

3 3
fɛhɛ (*fɛŋɛ*) run

1 1
siak (*sai*) tear

1 1 1
yɔk (*yɔrɔ*) fill

1 1 1
kpa (*kpaŋa*) die

1 1 5 1 1
1. *yak* *ɛnyɛ* *ɛdɛp* *okpo* *ebot* *kɛt.*
Let him buy he-goat one.

[1] Westermann and Bryan, 1952, p. 134.

1 3 1 1 2 2 1 1 1 1 3 1
2. *ama ɔnyuŋ ɛdɛmɛ efit mkpɔ se ɛkɛtɛmɛ ɛnyɛ.*
He had also bought all things what he informed him.

1 1 1 3 1 3 1
3. *ete* *ɔmɔ* *ɛfɛhɛ* *ɛbinɛ* *ɛnyɛ.*
Father his runs (and) follows him.

1 1 1 3 1 4
4. *mmɔ* *owo* *efɛŋɛ* *eka.*
People run (and) go.

Pronominal affixes show person. In the first person singular the nasal prefix varies with the initial consonant of the root to form a two consonant cluster extant in Ibibio speech. Phoneme /*m*/ is prefixed to roots possessing initial consonant /*b, f, m*/, phoneme /*n*/ to roots possessing initial consonant /*t, d, s, n, y*/, and phoneme /*ŋ*/ to roots commencing with consonants /*ŋ, k, w*/. Phonemes /*m*/ and /*ŋ*/ are in free variation before roots beginning with consonant /*kp*/.

The pronominal prefix used in second and third persons singular is usually /*a, ɛ, ɔ*/. Roots containing vowel /*a*/ require prefix /*a*/; roots containing vowels /*ɛ, e*/ require prefix /*ɛ*/, and roots possessing vowels /*ɔ, o, u, i*/ take prefix /*ɔ*/ except for a few roots which require prefix /*o*/. If the root contains a diphthong, the final vowel is the one which usually determines the pronominal prefix required in second and third persons singular. The first person plural prefix is /*i*/. Second and third persons plural require prefix /*e*/.

Special affixes are used to indicate object person, or a combination of subject and object persons. These affixes are /*m, n, ŋ*/ for first person singular object, /*u*/ or /*o*/ for second person singular object, and /*i*/ for first and second persons plural object.

Third person plural object is always indicated by the pronoun *mmɔ* (them). Third person singular object is indicated either by the third person singular object pronoun *ɛnyɛ* (him/her/it), or without any affix or pronoun indicated; in the latter case the absence of both object affix and object pronoun infers third person singular object. Pronoun affixes occurring in the aorist form of this construction possess rising tone when the subject is second person or third person plural, and high tone when the subject is first person singular or third person singular and plural. High toned roots possess midhigh tone. Low and rising toned roots possess inherent tone except in the second person singular with third person object and first person plural with third person object where monosyllabic roots have falling tone and disyllabic roots have the tones falling-mid.

The Ibibio language lacks passive voice constructions; "I am hit" is rendered "he hits me".

ukama I hold thee
ikama I hold you
ɛŋkama thou hold me
eikama thou hold us
ɛŋkama he holds me
okama he holds thee
uwa we sacrifice thee
iwa we sacrifice him/her/it
iwa we sacrifice you
iwa mmɔ we sacrifice them

Imperative

The imperative singular is the verb root, and represents the minimal verb form possessing meaning. The imperative plural is constructed by prefixing */i–/* to the root. The imperative and reduplicated imperative are also used as indirect commands after the verbs for "tell" or "say".

bɛn take!
ibɛn take (pl.)!
kama hold!
ikama hold (pl.)!

wa sacrifice!

iwa sacrifice (pl.)!
ka go!
ika go (pl.)!
brɛ play!
ibrɛ play (pl.)!

Infinitive

The prefix */ɛdi–/* affixed to the root constructs the infinitive. In rapid speech the prefix is contracted to */ei–/*. Roots possess falling tones.

ɛdibɛn to take (pronounced in rapid speech *eibɛn*)
ɛdikama to hold
ɛdiwa to sacrifice
ɛdika to go
ɛdibrɛ to play

Aorist constructions

The aorist is the simplest construction possessing pronominal prefixes. Variation in meaning of aorist forms is accomplished through changes in the tone of the pronominal prefix and/or root. Aorist forms occur in the narrative, conditional, subjunctive, conversational, and interrogative present tenses. Repeated and reduplicated aorist constructions also occur.

The narrative aorist is the tense used in ordinary narration. High toned roots possess inherent tone in the 1st pl., 2nd sing. & pl., and midhigh tone in the 1st sing., 3rd sing. & pl. Low and rising

toned roots have inherent tone in the 1st sing., 2nd pl., 3rd sing. & pl., and falling tone in the 1st pl., 2nd sing. Pronominal prefixes have high tone in the 1st sing., 3rd sing. & pl., and low tone in the 1st pl., 2nd sing. & pl., except prefixes possess rising tone when used with low and rising toned roots in the 2nd pl.

1.	*ami*	*mbɛn*	*ewɑ*	*ŋkama.*	
	I	take	(the)	dog	(and) hold.
2.	*afo*	*awa*	*unɛn*		
	Thou	sacrifice	(a)	fowl.	

The conversational aorist answers questions of the type "what are you doing?". Roots possess falling tone in the 1st sing., 3rd sing. & pl., and low tone in the 1st pl, 2nd sing. & pl. Pronominal prefixes have high tone in the 1st sing., 3rd sing. & pl., and low tone in the 1st pl., 2nd sing. & pl.; this particular set of pronominal prefix tones will hereafter be referred to as normal or inherent.

1.	*mbɛn*	*ŋwɛt*	*nsɔk*	*ɛnyɛ*
	I take	(the) book	(and) give	him.
2.	*ɛnyɛ*	*akama*	*ebot*	
	He	holds	(the)	goat.

Another form of the conversational aorist answers the question "who is the one who . . .?". Pronominal prefixes have high tone in the 1st sing., 3rd sing. & pl., and rising tone in the 1st pl., 2nd sing. & pl. High toned roots have inherent tone. Low and rising toned roots have falling tone.

1.	*mbɛn*	*ŋwɛt*

I take (the) book (or, I am the one who takes the book, in answer to the question, "who takes the book?").

A third form of the conversational aorist answers a question with an answer which contains the same root as used in the question.

1.	*mbɛn*	*ŋwɛt*

I take (the) book (in answer to the question, "do you take the book?").

The subjunctive aorist follows the morpheme *yak* (let) and shows a subjunctive relationship. Pronominal prefixes have normal tones. Roots possess falling tones.

1.	*yak mbɛn*	*ikaŋ*	*ŋka*	*utop*

Let me take (the) gun (and) go hunting.

2.	*yak ɛnyɛ*	*akama*	*ɛkikɔ*	*awa*

Let him hold (the) cock (and) sacrifice.

The conditional aorist indicates condition in subordinate clauses. High toned roots possess inherent tone in the 1st sing. & pl., 2nd sing. & pl., and mid tone in the 3rd sing. & pl. Low and rising toned roots have rising tones; the tone rises from low to high in the 1st sing. & pl., 2nd sing. & pl, and from low to mid in the 3rd sing. & pl. Pronominal prefixes possess low tones. Roots require the regular pronominal prefixes except in the second person where the pronominal prefix is /*u–*/ in the singular and /*i–*/ in the plural; the informant states only a minority use /*e–*/ as the pronominal prefix in second person plural.

1.	*ebɛn*	*ekɔm*	*eya*	*ounɔ*	*kɛt*

If they take nuts they will give thee one.

2.	*awa*	*ɛkikɔ*	*mbukpo*	*eya*	*edara*

If he sacrifices cock ancestors will be glad.

The aorist repeated constructs a present participle. High toned roots have inherent tone, but the tone of the repeated root is mid. Low and rising toned roots have rising tones. Pronominal prefixes have low tones. Roots have regular pronominal prefixes except in the second person where the prefix is /*u–*/ in the singular, and either /*i–*/ or /*e–*/ in the plural.

1.	*mbɛn mbɛn*		*mbat*

As I am taking I count.

2.	*uka uka*		*ɛŋkam*

As thou are going thou curse me.

Present perfect

The infix */–mɛ–/–mi–/–me–/* constructs the present perfect tense. The allomorph */–mɛ–/* occurs in singular persons, the allomorph */–mi–/* in first person plural, and the allomorph */–me–/* in second and third persons plural. The tone of the infix is midhigh in the 1st sing., 3rd sing. & pl., and high in the 1st pl., 2nd sing. & pl.

	1	1	2	5	1	1	1		1	1
1.	*ɛnyɛ*		*ɛmɛwa*		*ewa*		*ɔnɔ*		*mbukpo*	

He just sacrificed (a) dog to ancestors.

	1	2	2		1	2		1
2.	*mmɛbɛn*		*oko*		*nsɔk*		*ɛtɛm*	*ndidia*

I just took (the) pot (and) give to (the) cook.

Perfect

The infix */–kɛ–/–ki–/–ke–/* constructs the perfect tense. The allomorph */–kɛ–/* forms singular persons, the allomorph */–ki–/* first person plural, and the allomorph */–ke–/* second and third persons plural. The tone of the infix is midhigh-one with high toned roots, and, with low and rising toned roots, midhigh in the 1st sing., 3rd sing. & pl., and high in the 1st pl., 2nd sing. & pl.

	5	1	6	2	2	1	1	1	1
1.	*mmɔ*	*ekekama*			*ewa*		*ewat*	*ubom*	

They held (the) dog (and) paddle (the) canoe.

	1	1	6	2	1	1	1	5
2.	*ɛnyɛ*	*ɛkɛbɛn*			*ikaŋ*		*otop*	*enaŋ*

He took (the) gun (and) shoots (the) cow.

Past perfect

The affix */–ma/* suffixed to a pronominal prefix constructs the past perfect tense. The verb root occurs separate from the past perfect affix, and possesses a subsidiary vowel, in harmony with the root vowel, as a prefix. Pronominal prefixes have normal tones. The tone of the past perfect suffix is midhigh in the 1st sing., 3rd sing. & pl., and low in the 1st pl., 2nd sing. & pl. The subsidiary vowel prefixed to the root has high tone.

	1	2	1			1		
1.	*mma*		*ɔbuk*		*mbuk*		*uwom*	*mmi*

I have told story of life my.

	1		1	2	1	2	1	1
2.	*ɛnyɛ*		*ama*		*ɛbɛn*		*ebot*	

He had taken (the) goat.

Future

Two future affixes occur. The suffix */–ya/* constructs the future tense used in independent clauses, and is suffixed to the regular pronominal prefixes. The root is separate from the future affix, and is suffixed to a subordinate vowel prefix which is in harmony with the root vowel in singular persons and the same as the usual pronominal affixes in plural persons. The tone of the future suffix */–ya/* is midhigh in the 1st sing., 3rd sing. & pl., and low in the 1st pl., 2nd sing. & pl. The tone of the subordinate vowel prefixed to the root is high. Pronominal prefixes have normal tones.

	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	5	
1.	*ɛnyɛ*	*aya*		*ɛbɛn*		*ɛyin*		*aka*	*urua*	

He will take (the) child (and) go to (the) market.

	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	5
2.	*mmɔ*	*eya*		*ekama*			*ebot*		*ewa*	

They will hold (the) goat (and) sacrifice.

The infix */–di–/* forms the future constructions used in subordinate clauses, reported speech, negative tenses, and interrogative tenses used with interrogative particles. The tone of the infix varies depending upon the particular construction in which it occurs. In subordinate clauses the tone of the infix */–di–/* is low, pronominal prefixes have normal tones, and roots possess falling tones.

	1	1			1	5	1	5	1	
1.	*ɛnyɛ*	*ɛte*		*ami*		*ndika*	*iŋwaŋ*		*nnɔ*	*ɛnyɛ*

He says I shall go to (the) farm for him.

	5	1	1	1	1	1	5	
2.	*mmɔ*	*ete*	*ɛnyɛ*	*ɛdikama*		*ukɔt*	*iwa*	

They say he will hold (the) wine (and) sacrifice.

Conditional

The affix */–kpa/* constructs the conditional tense. The root occurs separate from the conditional affix and possesses a subordinate prefix in harmony with the root vowel in singular persons, and the same as the regular pronominal affixes in plural persons. In main clauses the terminal vowel of the conditional affix frequently elides the subordinate prefix of the root resulting in lengthening of the conditional affix vowel, but in subordinate

clauses vowel elision apparently does not result in lengthening of the conditional affix vowel.

The tone of the conditional infix used in main clauses is falling. Pronominal prefixes have normal tones. Subordinate prefixes have mid tone with inherently high toned roots, high tone with low toned roots, and, with inherently rising toned roots, high tone in the 1st sing., 2nd sing., 3rd sing. & pl., and midhigh tone in the 1st pl., 2nd pl.

1 5 3 3 1 1 5 1 1 1 2 1 2 3
1. *akpa ɛbɛn ɔkuk ɔnɔ owo mma ɛkpɛdaha*
He would take money to person if he had departed.

1 1 1 5 1 5 5
2. *ɛkpedo ɛti usɛn mkpa·ka urua*
If it were (a) good day I should go to (the) market.

Habitual action

The infix */–si–/* indicates habitual action, and occurs in the present and past perfect tenses. The tone of the habitual infix is midhigh in the 1st sing., 2nd pl., 3rd sing. & pl., and high in the 1st pl., 2nd sing. In the present tense, pronominal prefixes have high tone in the 1st sing., 3rd sing. & pl., low tone in the 1st pl., 2nd sing., and rising tone in 2nd pl.

1 2 5
nsiwa I usually sacrifice

1 2 1 2 2
mma ɛsibɛn I have usually taken

1 5
ɛsiwa thou usually sacrifice

4 2 4
esika you usually go

The prefix ke–

The prefix */kɛ–/ki–/ke–/* constructs a kind of gerund and indicates the action expressed by the verb has begun and still continues. The allomorph */kɛ–/* occurs in singular persons, the allomorph */ki–/* in first person plural, and the allomorph */ke–/* in second and third persons plural. The affix *ke–* occurs in the present, present reduplicated and perfect tenses. In the present tense the affix *ke–* possesses high tone in the 1st sing., 3rd sing. & pl., and falling tone in the 1st pl., 2nd sing. & pl. (the tone is falling in the latter instance since the high toned vowel of the prefix *ke–* elides the low toned pronominal affix vowel).

1 1 1
ami kɛŋkama I am holding

1 1 5
ɛnyɛ kɛka he is going

1 1 2 2
ami kɛŋkɛkama I was holding

The infix –ye–

The infix */–yɛ–/–yi–/ye–/* occurs in the present, perfect, future and conditional tenses, and indicates an adverbial condition translatable as "then . . . ". The allomorph */–yɛ–/* occurs in singular persons, the allomorph */–yi–/* in first person plural, and the allomorph */–ye–/* in second and third persons plural. The tone of the infix is high in the present and future, mid in the conditional, and high or mid in the perfect depending upon which of two alternate constructions is used. Roots possess low tone in the present, past and conditional, and falling tone in the future. Pronominal prefixes have normal tones in all tenses.

1 1
nyɛbɛn I then take

1 1 3 1 1 3
ɛkɛyɛbɛn or *ɛyɛkɛbɛn* he then took

1 1 3
nyɛdikama I then will hold

1 3
ikpiyika we then would go

The suffix –ma

The affix */–ma/* constructs an adverbial condition translatable as "when . . .", and occurs in the present, perfect and conditional tenses. The affix usually occurs as a suffix to a pronominal prefix with the verb root suffixed to a secondary pronominal affix, but the affix may occur as an infix in the present tense.

5 2 5 2 2
mmabɛn or *mma ɛbɛn* when I take . . .

5 5
umawa when you sacrifice . . .

1 5 1 1 2
mma ɛkɛbɛn when I have taken . . .

1 2 1 2 3
mma ɛkpɛbɛn when (if) I would take . . .

The particle –ma

A special particle occurs in present and past perfect tenses to denote recently completed action. The particle possesses the regular pronominal prefixes and always follows the verb root. The tone of this particle is low in the 1st sing., 2nd pl., 3rd sing. & pl., and falling in the 1st pl., 2nd sing. The tones of the pronominal prefixes used with the particle are high. The tones of the pronominal prefixes used with the verb root are normal except in the second person plural where the tone may be either high or rising.

1 2 1
1. *ami nnam mma*

I do finish (i.e. I just complete my work).

1 2 2 1
2. *ami mmanam mma*

I just did finish (i.e. I just completed my work).

Relative affix

The suffix */–V/–hV/–kɛ/* constructs a relative clause translatable as "which/who . . ." in the present, perfect, and present reduplicated tenses, and follows the particles 1 *emi* (who, which), 1 *eme* (where), 1 *nay* (as), and 5 *sa* (as). The vowel of the allomorph suffixes */–V/* and */–hV/* is in harmony with the root vowel. Monosyllabic roots of the form CV require */–hV/* suffix, and all other monosyllabic roots require */–V/* suffix. Disyllabic roots require suffix */–kɛ/*.

In the present tense high toned roots have inherent tone except in the 1st sing. where the tone is low. Low toned roots have inherent tone except in the 3rd sing. & pl. where the tone is high. Monosyllabic rising toned roots have low tone in the 1st sing. & pl., 2nd sing. & pl., and high tone in the 3rd sing. & pl. Disyllabic roots have inherent tone in the 1st pl., 2nd sing. & pl., falling tone in the 3rd sing. & pl., and low tone in the 1st sing. The tone of the relative suffix is low in the 1st sing., high with high toned roots and mid with low and rising toned roots in the 1st pl., 2nd sing. & pl., and high with high toned roots and low with low and rising toned roots in the 3rd sing. & pl. Pronominal prefixes have normal tones.

In the future tense an allomorph of this affix appears as an infix between the future infix */–di–/* and the verb root. The infix */–gi·–/* possesses a long vowel; the allophone [*g*] is interpreted as an allophone of the phoneme */k/*. The infix has low tone in the 1st sing., 2nd sing., and falling tone in all other persons. Roots possess falling tone.

A reduplicated construction occurs in which the relative suffix stands between the verb root and the reduplicated root:

1
ŋkamakɛ which I hold

1 1 1
ikamakɛ which we hold

1 1
ewaha which they sacrifice

1 1
ɛbrɛkɛ which he plays

1 5
ndigi·bɛn which I will take

5 1 5 5
idigi·wa which I will sacrifice

1 1 1
emekpekekpe which is just hired

1 1 2 2 2 2 2
ekedɔŋɔkedcyɔ who was just sick

The subordinate infix –di–

The infix */–di–/* constructs a subordinate clause in the present tense which translates "as . . .". Pronominal prefixes have normal tones except in the first person plural where the tone is high. The tone of the infix is low. Roots possess falling tones.

1 5 1 1 1 2 1 2 1 1 1 1 1
1. *edidi inia ama ata eyin odo ukot*

As they come sores had attacked child that leg.

1 5 1 1 1 2 1 1 1 1
2. *edika ɛkwɛrɛ atay mme mkpɔ odo awa*

As they go lizard takes things those (and) sacrifices.

Reported speech

The Pronominal prefix */i–/* and special pronouns construct reported speech forms. The pronominal prefix always possesses low tone except in an emphatic aorist construction where the tone is rising. Reported speech subject and object pronouns are *emɔ* in the second and third persons singular, and *ndimɔ* in the second and third

persons plural. High toned roots possesses inherent tone in the present, emphatic aorist and conditional, and midhigh tone in the perfect, past perfect and future tenses. Low toned roots possess inherent tone in the past perfect and future, rising tone in the present and perfect, and falling tone in the emphatic aorist and conditional tenses. Rising toned roots have inherent tone in the present, perfect, past perfect and future, and falling tone in the emphatic aorist and conditional tenses.

1. *afo* *ɛte* *emɔ* *ibɛn* *ubom*
   Thou say thou take (the) canoe.

2. *ɛnyɛ* *ɛte* *emɔ* *ikibɛn* *ubom*
   He says he took (the) canoe.

3. *mbufo* *ete* *ndimɔ* *ima* *ibɛn* *ubom*
   You say you had taken (the) canoe.

4. *mmɔ ete ndimɔ ikpa ibɛn ubom*
   They say they would take (the) canoe.

5. *ɛnyɛ* *ɛte* *emɔ* *iwa* *ebot*
   He says he does sacrifice (a) goat.

Verb of motion constructions

Verb roots indicating motion may be affixed to other roots to form special constructions in the imperative, infinitive, present, future, conditional and subjunctive tenses, and in the corresponding negative tenses. The motional roots most frequently used are *di* (come) and *ka* (go). The motional root is always prefixed to the other verb root, and both root sare preceded or followed by the usual affixes of the respective person and tense.

The tone of the motional root is high in the imperative, infinitive, and 1st pl., 2nd sing. of the present, and midhigh in the past perfect, future, conditional and 1st sing., 2nd pl., 3rd sing. & pl, of the present.

The vowel of the root *di* (come) remains unchanged in all tenses, but the vowel of the root *ka* (go) is elided by the vowel of the root in the imperative singular, becomes */–ki–/* in the imperative plural and infinitive, and becomes */–kɛ–/* in singular persons of the present, perfect, future, and conditional tenses. In plural persons of the present, perfect, future and conditional tenses the vowel phoneme of the pronominal affix elides the vowel of the root *ka*.

dikama come hold (sing.)!
ikikama go hold (pl.)!
ɛdidikama to come hold
ɛdikikama to go hold
ŋkɛkama I go hold
mma ɛdikama I came held
nya ɛkɛkama I will go hold
mkpadikama I would come hold
ndikama (let) me come hold

Reduplication

Reduplication of the initial syllable of a root constructs an emphatic verb form in the present, perfect, past perfect, *ke–* affix and habitual tenses. The reduplicated syllable has midhigh tone in the present, past perfect, 1st pl., 2nd sing. & pl. of the present *ke–* affix, 1st sing., 3rd sing. & pl. of the present ke- affix, 1st pl., 2nd sing. & pl. of the present habitual, and low tone in the perfect tense. High toned roots possess the same tones as the reduplicated syllable except the tone in the perfect tense is mid. Low and rising toned roots have falling tones except in the second person plural of present and past perfect tenses where the tone is inherent.

A form of reduplicated aorist is used to answer questions of the type "Where did you get . . . ?", or "What is the matter with you?"

awawa Thou do sacrifice
ikakama We do hold

1 1 3
ŋkɛbɛbɛn I have just taken

1 1 5
ekekaka They have just gone

1 2 1 2 2
mma ɛbɛbɛn I had already taken

1 2 4
ema ekaka You had already gone

5 2 2 2
kɛkakama Thou are still holding

1 2 2 2 2
nsikakama I usually do hold

1 1 5
isikaka We usually do go

1 3
ɛdɛdɛp He does buy (answering the question "Where does he get the canoe?")

1 3 3
ndɔdɔŋɔ I am sick (answering the question "What is the matter with you?").

NEGATIVE TENSES

Special affixes, changes in inherent tone of the root, and special pronominal prefixes construct negative tenses. Pronominal prefixes used in negative tenses are the same as in affirmative tenses in the first person singular, */u–/* in second person singular, and */i–/* in third person singular and all plural persons.

Negative imperative

The prefix */ku–/* constructs the negative imperative singular, and possesses falling tone. The prefix */iki–/* constructs the negative imperative plural, and possesses low-falling tones. High toned roots have midhigh tone; low and rising toned roots have rising tone. Negative imperative prefixes also form the negative imperative reduplicated tense; the tone of the reduplicated syllable of high toned roots is midhigh, and the tone of the reduplicated syllable of low and rising toned roots is high. A negative imperative verb of motion construction occurs.

5 2 2
kukama Don't hold!

5 2 2
ikikama Don't hold (pl.)!

5 4
kuka Don't go!

5 4
ikika Don't go (pl.)!

5 2 2 2
kukakama Don't be holding!

5 2 2 2
ikikakama Don't be holding (pl.)!

5 1 5
kukaka Don't be going!

5 1 5
ikikaka Don't be going (pl.)!

5 2 2 2
kudukama Don't come hold!

5 1 2 2
kidikama Don't come hold (pl.)!

5 1 1
kukubrɛ Don't come play!

5 1 3
kikibrɛ Don't come play (pl.)!

Negative suffix

The suffix */–V/–hV/–kɛ/* constructs the present, perfect, habitual, future and conditional negative tenses, and the corresponding verb of motion constructions. The vowel of the allomorphs */–V/* and */–hV/* is in harmony with the root vowel. Monosyllabic roots of the form CV require suffix */–hV/*, and all other monosyllabic roots require suffix */–V/*. Some monosyllabic roots of the form CV experience diphthongization. Disyllabic roots require suffix */–kɛ/*. The affix */–gi–/–gu–/* occurs in a future emphatic construction as an infix between the future infix *–di–* and the root. The allomorph */–gu–/* occurs in second person singular, and the allomorph */–gi–/* in all other persons. The consonant of this infix is an allophone of the phoneme */k/*. A reduplicated present tense construction occurs in which the negative suffix is positioned between the root and the reduplicated element.

Pronominal prefixes have high tone in the negative present, perfect, future, conditional and habitual tenses except in the third person plural of present and present habitual tenses where the tone is midhigh with high toned roots. The tone

of the negative suffix used with low toned roots is mid. The tone of the negative suffix used with monosyllabic rising toned roots is mid in the present, present habitual, perfect, future, and conditional tenses. The negative suffix used with disyllabic rising toned roots has mid tone in the perfect, future, conditional, and low tone in the present and present habitual tenses except in the second person plural where the tone is mid.

The negative suffix used with high toned roots has midhigh tone in the future, midhigh tone except in the 2nd pl. which has mid tone in the perfect and conditional, high tone in the 1st sing. & pl., 2nd sing., 3rd sing. of the present and present habitual, and midhigh tone in the 2nd pl., 3rd pl. of the present and present habitual tenses. The tone of the infix */–gi–/–gu–/* used in the future emphatic construction is falling.

The particle *mmɛ* (whether) when immediately preceding a negative suffix construction forms a conditional subordinate clause. The pronominal prefix vowel elides the vowel of the particle *mmɛ*.

1 1 1 1
ukamakɛ Thou do not hold

1 5 3
ŋweaha I do not sacrifice

1 1 3
ikikaha He/we/they did not go

1 1 1 1 1
nsikamakɛ I do not usually hold

1 2 3
ikpikaha You would not go

5 3 3
udubrɛkɛ Thou will not play

1 1 5 5
ndigibɛn I certainly will not take

1 1 5 5
uduguka Thou certainly will not go

1 1 1 1
ndibɛnɛ I don't come take

1 1 2 2 2
ikikibɛnɛ He/we/they didn't go take

1 5 2 2 2
udukubɛnɛ Thou will not go take

1 6 2 3 3
ikpikibɛnɛ you wouldn't go take

5 2 2 2
mmɛ mbɛnɛ If I don't take (the informant states most Ibibio prefer to use *mmibɛnɛ* 5 2 2 If I/he/we/they don't take)

5 2 2
mmubɛnɛ If thou don't take

1 1 1 1
idɔhɔdɔ (Whether) he does not marry

Negative subordinate

The infix */–di–/–du–/* constructs a negative present tense in subordinate clauses initiated by the conjunction *mbak* (so that). The allomorph */–du–/* occurs in the second person singular, and the allomorph */–di–/* in all other persons. Pronominal prefixes have low tones. The tone of the negative subordinate infix is high except in the third person where the tone is midhigh.

1. *mbak* 1 5 *ndiwa*
... so that I may not sacrifice.

2. *mbak* 1 1 1 *udukama*
... so that thou may not hold.

3. *mbak* 1 2 *ɛdimbɛn* 2 2 *akama*
... so that he may not take me (and) hold.

INTERROGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Interrogative constructions occur either with or without interrogative particles. Constructions without interrogative particles occur in the aorist, perfect, past perfect and future tenses. Constructions with interrogative particles occur in the aorist, aorist conditional, perfect, future, conditional and perfect-conditional tenses.

Constructions without interrogative particles

Interrogative tenses used without interrogative particles construct the question "Do/did/has/will ... ?". In the aorist and perfect tenses pronominal prefixes are lengthened and possess falling tone in the 1st sing., 3rd sing. & pl., and a tone which

rises to high then falls to mid in the 1st pl., 2nd sing. & pl. Pronominal prefixes have normal tones in the past perfect and future tenses. Low and monosyllabic rising toned roots in the aorist have a lengthening of the terminal vowel. Low and rising toned roots in the aorist have the tones high-mid (except rising toned roots which have inherent tone in the 2nd pl.). Low and rising toned roots possess inherent tone in the perfect, past perfect and future tenses. High toned roots possess mid-high tone in the aorist, perfect, past perfect and future tenses. The tone of the perfect infix is high. The past perfect suffix */–ma/* and the future suffix */–ya/* possess midhigh tone in the 1st sing., 3rd sing. & pl., and low tone in the 1st pl., 2nd sing. & pl. The tone of the secondary pronominal prefix in the past perfect and future is high.

5 2
m·bɛn Do I take ?

45 13
i·wa· Do we sacrifice ?

45 13
a·ka· Do you go ?

5 1 2
ŋ·kɛbɛn Did I take ?

45 1
e·kewa Did you sacrifice ?

1 2 1 2 2
ama akama Has he held ?

1 4
ema eka Have you gone ?

1 2 1 2 2
nya ɛkama Will I hold ?

1 2 1 4
eya eka Will they go ?

Constructions with interrogative particles

The interrogative tenses used with interrogative particles construct questions of the form "Who/what/where . . . ?". Pronominal prefixes have normal tones in all tenses. In the aorist with the interrogative particle *so* (what ?), two alternative pronunciations occur. In the first the interrogative particle follows the aorist and has mid tone with high toned roots, and mid tone in the 1st pl., 2nd sing. & pl., or rising tone in the 1st sing., 3rd sing. & pl. with low and rising toned roots. In the second the interrogative particle *nsɛ* (what?) precedes the aorist, and the vowel of the pronominal prefix elides the vowel of the particle.

In the aorist high toned roots have inherent tone, low and rising toned roots have falling tone in the 1st sing., 3rd sing. & pl., and rising tone in the 1st pl., 2nd sing. & pl. In the aorist conditional the tone of the interrogative particle *so* is rising, and roots possess falling tone. High toned roots have midhigh tone, and low and rising toned roots have rising tone in the perfect, conditional, and perfect-conditional. The tone of roots in the aorist conditional and future tenses is falling. The tone of the perfect infix is high. The future infix */–di–/* has falling tone in the 1st sing., 3rd sing. & pl., and low tone in the 1st pl., 2nd sing. & pl. The conditional infix has high tone in the conditional and perfect-conditional; the perfect infix occurring in the perfect-conditional tense has midhigh-one tone.

1 1 3 1 1 1
mbɛn so (alternative form: *nsɛ mbɛn*) What do I take ?

1 3 5 1
ibɛn so (alt. form: *nsibɛn*) What do we take ?

1 5 4
mbɛn so What should I take ?

5 4
ibɛn so What should we take ?

1 2 2 3
akakama so What did he hold ?

1 4 3
ekewa so What did you sacrifice ?

5 1 3
ɛdibɛn kuke Thou will take where ?

1 5 5 1 3
ɛdika kuke He will go where ?

1 1 4 3
ŋkpɛwa so What would I sacrifice ?

1 1 6 2 2 3
ŋkpɛkɛkama so What would I have held ?

Negative constructions without interrogative particles

Negative constructions without interrogative particles occur in the present, perfect and future tenses. Pronominal prefixes have high-one tone. High toned roots have high-one tone (except in the second person plural where the tone is high) in the present, and inherent tone (except in the

second person plural where the tone is midhigh) in the perfect and future tenses. Low and rising toned roots have falling tone in the present tense except in the second person plural where the tone is low-one for monosyllabic roots or low-one – midhigh for disyllabic roots. In the perfect and future tenses low and monosyllabic rising toned roots have low-one tone, and disyllabic rising toned roots have tones low-one – midhigh. The tone of the perfect infix is high-one. The tone of the future infix */–di–/* is falling. The tone of the negative suffix is midhigh with low and rising toned roots in all tenses, and high with high toned roots in the perfect and future tenses. In the present tense the negative suffix used with high toned roots has high-one tone except in second person plural where the tone is high.

7 7 7
mbɛnɛ Don't I take ?
7 1 1
ibɛnɛ Don't you take ?
7 5 2
uwaha Don't thou sacrifice ?
7 7 1 1
ŋkibɛnɛ Didn't I take ?
7 7 1 1 1
ikikamakɛ Didn't he/we/they hold ?
7 7 8 2
ukuwaha Didn't thou sacrifice ?
7 5 1 1 1
idikamakɛ Will he/we/you/they not hold ?
7 5 8 2
ndikaha Will I not go ?

Negative constructions with interrogative particles

Negative constructions with interrogative particles occur in the present, perfect, conditional and perfect-conditional tenses. Pronominal prefixes have high tone in all tenses. High toned roots have high tone (except in second person plural where the tone is midhigh) in the present tense, and midhigh tone in the perfect, conditional, and perfect-conditional tenses. Monosyllabic rising toned roots have low tone, and low and disyllabic rising toned roots have inherent tone in the perfect, conditional, and perfect-conditional tenses. In the present tense low and rising toned roots have falling tone except in second person plural where monosyllabic roots have low tone and disyllabic roots have rising tone. The tone of the perfect and conditional infixes is high in all persons except second person plural where the tone is midhigh-one. In the perfect-conditional tense the tones of the conditional and perfect infixes are respectively high and midhigh-one except in second person plural where the tone of the conditional infix is midhigh-one and the tone of the perfect infix is a tone halfway between midhigh-one and midhigh tones. The tone of the negative suffix is midhigh in the perfect, conditional, and perfect-conditional. In the present tense the tone of the negative suffix with high toned roots is high except in second person plural where the tone is midhigh; with low and monosyllabic rising toned roots the tone is midhigh, and with disyllabic rising toned roots the tone is low except in second person plural where the tone is midhigh.

1 1 1 1 3
ikamakɛ so What don't he/we/they take ?
1 2 3
iwaha so What don't you sacrifice ?
1 5 2 3
iwaha so What don't he/we/they sacrifice ?
1 1 2 2 2 3
ikikamakɛ so What didn't he/we/they hold ?
1 1 2 2 3
ukpubɛnɛ so What wouldn't thou take ?
1 1 6 2 2 2 3
ŋkpikikamakɛ so What wouldn't I have sacrificed ?
1 6 2 2 3
ikpikiwaha so What wouldn't you have sacrificed ?

VERBAL NOUNS

The prefix */u–/* affixed to a verb root constructs a gerundive noun. The prefix possesses high tone. High toned roots possess high tone, and low and rising toned roots have falling tone.

1 1 1 1 1 1 5
ubɛn taking *ukama* holding *uwa* sacrificing

1 5 1 1
uka going *ubrɛ* playing

A pronominal prefix in harmony with the root vowel affixed to a verb root constructs the singular noun agent. The tone of the pronominal prefix is low, and the tone of the root is inherent. The noun which follows the root possesses genitive tone.

Another form of verbal noun is constructed by prefixing /*ndi*–/ to the root. The prefix /*ndi*–/ has tones low-high; in rapid speech the informant uses the prefix /*andi*–/. High toned roots have inherent tone, low and rising toned roots have falling tones.

The particle *mme* used in conjunction with either noun agent constructs a plural noun agent form.

ɛbɛn ubom taker of canoe

akama ikaŋ holder of gun

awa uwa sacrificer of sacrifice

ndibɛn taker

ndikama holder

ndiwa sacrificer

mme ɛbɛn takers

mme ndibɛn takers

TABLE OF TENSES

This table lists the tones of pronominal prefixes and verb roots, and gives an example for many tenses of an inherently high toned monosyllabic root in the third person singular. In the columns labelled *Pronominal affixes* and *Roots* the symbols H, Hl, L, Lı, R, F, MH designate respectively high, high-one, low, low-one, rising, falling, and midhigh tones.

In the *Pronominal affix* column, if any specific person contains two symbols in horizontal position the first symbol represents the initial tone, and the second symbol the terminal tone, of a lengthened pronominal prefix. If two symbols appear in vertical position for any specific person the tone of the pronominal affix varies with the inherent tone of the root.

The symbol /:/ in the column labelled *Roots* may be interpreted as "remains" or "becomes/changes to", depending on whether the tone of the root remains inherent or changes in that particular tense. The tone symbols which precede symbol /:/ represent the inherent tones of roots; the tone symbols which follow symbol /:/ designate the tones of roots as used in that specific tense. The abbreviations *redup. syl.*, *mono* and *di* designate respectively reduplicated syllable, monosyllable, and disyllable.

Tense	*Pronominal affixes* *Singular* 1 2 3	*Plural* 1 2 3	*Roots*	*Example*
Imperative	– – –	– – –	inherent	*bɛn* (sing.) *ibɛn* (plural) take!
Infinitive	– – –	– – –	falling	*ɛdibɛn* to take
Aorist narrative	H L H	L L H R	H: H 1p, 2s & p MH 1s, 3s & p L & R: F 1p, 2s inherent 1s, 2p, 3s & p	*ɛbɛn* he takes

Tense	*Pronominal affixes* *Singular* *1 2 3*	*Plural* *1 2 3*	*Roots*	*Example*
Aorist conversational	H L H	L L H	1s, 3s & p: F 1p, 2s & p: L	1 5 *ɛbɛn* he takes
Aorist subjunctive	H L H	L L H	falling	1 5 *ɛbɛn* (let) him take
Aorist conditional	L L L	L L L	H: H 1s & p, 2s & p M 3s & p L & R: R	3 *ɛbɛn* if he takes
Aorist repeated	L L L	L L L	H: H L & R: R redup. H: M redup. L & R: R	1 3 *ɛbɛn ɛbɛn* as he is taking
Present Perfect	H L H	L L H	H: H 1p, 2s MH 1s, 3s & p, 2p L & R: F (except 2p inherent)	1 2 2 *ɛmɛbɛn* he just took
Perfect	H L H	R R H	H: MH L & R: inherent	1 6 2 *ɛkɛbɛn* he took
Past Perfect	H L H	L L H	H: MH L & R: inherent	1 2 1 2 *ama ɛbɛn* he had taken
Future	H L H	L L H	H: MH L & R: inherent	1 2 1 2 *aya ɛbɛn* he will take
Di-Future	H L H	L L H	falling	1 5 *ɛdibɛn* he will take
Conditional	H L H	L L H	H: M L & R: F (except 2p inherent)	1 5 3 3 *akpa ɛbɛn* he would take
Ke-Prefix present	H L H	L L H	H: H 1s, 3s & p MH 1p, 2s & p L & R: F 1s, 3s & p R 1p, 2s & p	1 1 *kɛbɛn* he is taking
Habitual present	H L H	L R H	H: H 1p, 2s MH 1s, 2p, 3s & p L & R: F (except 2p inherent)	1 2 2 *ɛsibɛn* he usually takes

Tense	*Pronominal affixes* *Singular* 1 2 3	*Plural* 1 2 3	*Roots*	*Example*
Ye-Infix present	H L H	L L H	low	1 1 *ɛyɛbɛn* he then takes
Ma-Affix present	L L L	L L L	H: MH L & R: F	5 2 *amabɛn* when he takes
Ma-Particle present	H L H	L H H R	H: H 1p, 2s MH 1s, 2p, 3s & p L & R: F	1 2 1 *ebɛn ama* he takes finish, he just finished taking
Relative affix present	H L H	L L H	H: H (except 1s L) diR: R 1p, 2s & p F 3s & p; L 1s L & monoR: L 1s & p, 2s & p H 3s & p	1 1 1 *ebɛnɛ* which he takes
Di-Subordinate infix	H L H	H L H	falling	1 5 *ɛdibɛn* as he takes
Reported speech aorist	– L L	– L L	H: H L & R: R	1 *ibɛn* he takes
Reported speech perfect	– L L	– L L	H: MH L & R: R	1 2 *ikibɛn* he took
Reported speech past perfect	– L L	– L L	H: MH L & R : inherent	1 2 *ima ibɛn* he had taken
Reported speech future	– L L	– L L	H: MH L & R: inherent	1 2 *iya ibɛn* he will take
Reported speech conditional	– L L	– L L	H: H L & R : F	5 1 1 *ikpa ibɛn* He would take
Motional imperative	– – –	– – –	H: H in sing. MH in plur. L & R: F in sing. inherent in plur.	1 1 *dibɛn* (sing.) 1 2 *idibɛn* (pl.) come take!
Motional infinitive	– – –	– – –	H: H L & R: F	1 1 1 *ɛdidibɛn* to come take

Tense	*Pronominal affixes* *Singular* 1 2 3	*Plural* 1 2 3	*Roots*	*Example*
Motional present	H L H	L R H	H: H 1p, 2s MH 1s, 2p, 3s & p L: F R: F (except 2p inherent)	1 2 2 *ɛkɛbɛn* he go takes
Motional past perfect	H L H	L L H	H: MH L & R: F	1 2 1 2 2 *ama ɛkɛbɛn* he had gone taken
Motional future	H L H	L L H	H : MH L & R : F	1 2 1 2 2 *aya ɛdibɛn* he will come take
Motional conditional	H L H	L L H	H : MH L & R : F	1 5 2 2 *akpakɛbɛn* he would go take
Motional subjunctive	H L H	L L H	H : H L & R : F (except 2p inherent)	1 1 2 *ɛdibɛn* (let) him come take
Reduplicated present	H L H	L L H	H: H 1p, 2s MH 1s, 2p, 3s & p L & R: F (except 2p inherent) redup. syl.: MH 1s, 3s & p H 1p, 2s & p	1 2 2 *ɛbɛbɛn* he does take
Negative imperative	– – –	– – –	H: MH L & R: R	5 2 *kubɛn* (sing) 5 2 *ikibɛn* (plur.) do not take!
Negative imperative reduplicated	– – –	– – –	H: MH L & R: F in sing. R in plur. redup. syl.: H with L & R roots MH with H roots	5 2 2 *kubɛbɛn* (sing.) 5 2 2 *ikibɛbɛn* (plur.) do not be taking!
Negative present	H H H	H H H MH	H: H (except 2p & 3p MH) diR: F (except 2p inherent) L & monoR: F (except 2p L)	1 1 1 *ibɛnɛ* he does not take

Tense	*Pronominal affixes* *Singular* 1 2 3	*Plural* 1 2 3	*Roots*	*Examples*
Negative perfect	H H H	H H H	H: MH diR: inherent L & monoR: L	1 1 2 2 *ikibɛnɛ* he/they did not take
Negative habitual present	H H H	H H H MH	H: H (except 2p & 3p MH) diR: F (except 2p inherent) L & monoR: F (except 2p L)	1 1 1 1 *isibɛnɛ* he/we usually do not take
Negative future	H H H	H H H	H: MH L & diR: R monoR: L	1 5 2 2 *idibɛnɛ* he/we/they will not take
Negative future emphatic	H H H	H H H	falling	1 1 5 5 *idigibɛn* he certainly will not take
Negative conditional	H H H	H H H	H: MH (except 2p M) diR: inherent L & monoR: L	1 1 2 2 *ikpibɛnɛ* he/we/they would not take
Negative motional imperative	– – –	– – –	H: MH L & R: F in sing. R in plur.	5 2 2 *kukubɛn* (sing.) 5 1 2 *kikibɛn* (plur.) do not go take!
Negative motional present	H H MH	H H MH	H: H 1s & p, 2s MH 2p, 3s & p diR: F (except 2p inherent) L & monoR: F (except 2p L)	2 2 2 2 *ikibɛnɛ* he does not go take
Negative subordinate	L L L	L L L	H: H 1s & p, 2s MH 3s & p, 2p L & R: F (except 2p R)	2 2 *ɛdibɛn* (so that) he may not take
Interrogative aorist	F RF F	RF RF F	H: MH L & R: H-M (except 2p of R roots inherent)	5 2 *ɛ·bɛn* does he take ?
Interrogative perfect	F RF F	RF RF F	H: MH L & R: inherent	5 1 2 *ɛ·kɛbɛn* did he take ?

Tense	*Pronominal affixes* *Singular* 1 2 3	*Plural* 1 2 3	*Roots*	*Examples*
Interrogative past perfect	H L H	L L H	H: MH L & R: inherent	1 2 1 2 *ama ɛbɛn* had he taken ?
Interrogative future	H L H	L L H	H: MH L & R: inherent	1 2 1 2 *aya ɛbɛn* will he take ?
Interrogative aorist with *so*	H L H	L L H	H: H L & R: F 1s, 3s & p R 1p, 2s & p	1 1 3 *ɛbɛn so* what does he take ?
Interrogative aorist conditional with *so*	H L H	L L H	falling	1 5 4 *ɛbɛn so* what should he take ?
Interrogative perfect with *so*	H L H	L L H	H: MH L & R: R	1 1 2 3 *ɛkɛbɛn so* what did he take ?
Interrogative future with interrogative particle	H L H	H L H	falling	1 5 5 1 2 *ɛdibɛn kuke* he will take where ?
Interrogative conditional with *so*	H L H	L L R	H: MH L & R: R	1 1 2 3 *ɛkpɛbɛn so* what would he take ?
Interrogative perfect-conditional with *so*	H L H	L L H	H: MH L & R: R	1 1 6 2 3 *ɛkpɛkɛbɛn so* what would he have taken ?
Interrogative negative present	H1 H1 H1	H1 H1 H1	H: H1 (except 2p H) L & R: F (except 2p L1 or L1-MH)	7 7 7 *ibɛnɛ* doesn't he take ?
Interrogative negative perfect	H1 H1 H1	H1 H1 H1	H: H (except 2p MH) L & monoR: L1 diR: L1-MH	7 7 1 1 *ikibɛnɛ* didn't he take ?
Interrogative negative future	H1 H1 H1	H1 H1 H1	H: H (except 2p MH) L & monoR : L1 diR: L1-MH	7 5 1 1 *idibɛnɛ* will he not take ?
Interrogative negative present with *so*	H H H	H H H	H: H (except 2p MH) L & R: F (except 2p L for L & monoR roots, R for diR roots)	1 1 1 3 *ibɛnɛ so* what doesn't he take ?

Tense	*Pronominal affixes* *Singlar* *1 2 3*	*Plural* *1 2 3*	*Roots*	*Examples*
Interrogative negative perfect with *so*	H H H	H H H	H: MH L & diR: inherent monoR: L	1 1 2 2 3 *ikibɛnɛ so* what didn't he take ?
Interrogative negative conditional with *so*	H H H	H H H	H: MH L & diR: inherent monoR: L	1 1 1 1 3 *ikpibɛnɛ so* what wouldn't he take ?
Interrogative negative perfect-conditional with *so*	H H H	H H H	H: MH L & diR: inherent monoR : L	1 1 6 2 2 3 *ikpikibɛnɛ so* what would he not have taken ?

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UN PUBLICATIONS

The United Nations publishes almost every year some informative material about Africa. Every member holding a dependency is obliged to send in a factual report on recent progress. All these reports are collated and summarized in an annual volume (in English) of "information from non-self-governing territories". In 1957 for the first time this volume will also include the Portuguese colonies, since Portugal was admitted to membership of UN late in 1955. For the trust territories much fuller material is available in their reports to the Trusteeship Council and in the reports of the Council's own visiting missions that are made every three years. In addition, the UN Department of Economic Affairs now compiles a valuable review of economic activities in Africa. All this literature is edited with discretion and maintains an impartial tone. South African readers will note that the agency in the Union for all UN publications is Van Schaik's Bookstore, P.O. Box 724, Pretoria. The prices of UN publications are modest; and a catalogue can be had for the asking.

KINSHIP CHANGE IN THE BELGIAN CONGO

S. & J. COMHAIRE-SYLVAIN *

SYNOPSIS

In the Lake Leopold II district of the Belgian Congo, patrilineal tribes occupy the forest region, matrilineal tribes the savannah, and groups with a mixed culture the zone of transition around the lake itself. The nkumu *are a characteristic institution of the patrilineal tribes, and their non-hereditary status may be the result of culture change among aborigines reduced to a collective slavery status by patrilineal conquerors. In the transitional zone, change takes place from tribe to tribe in a gradual way, which may be a geographical reflection of how change takes place in the course of time.*

At Leopoldville, the same tribes developed an intertribal system, the most characteristic feature of which, as in other African towns, is the extreme importance of the dowry. Native French terminology reflects significant differences from European kinship, and further change than now obtains is not expected in the near future.

Traditional kinship systems in Africa to-day are subject to the impact of social forces which have already called for attention, as exemplified in a recent article by C. M. N. White (*African Studies*, 14, 3, 1955, pp. 97–112) on "Factors in the Social Organization of the Luvale". The Belgian Congo offers ideal ground for such research, as the abode of both patrilineal and matrilineal tribes, and Lake Leopold II district, in particular, may be mentioned as providing an opportunity to study these problems in conditions hardly disturbed by the Europeans as well as under the impact of salaried employment in the nearby metropolis of Leopoldville.

Lake Leopold II District

The Lake Leopold II district can be divided into three geographical regions. North and East, the forest is inhabited by the Kundu, an offshoot of the patrilineal Mongo ethnic group, which has been described by the late Georges Van der Kerken (*L' Ethnie Mongo*, Mémoire de l' Institut Royal Colonial Belge, 2 vols., Brussels, 1944). Hunting is an important occupation among them, making the man who monopolizes it the main contributor to the family income. This is reflected in the descent system, which is patrilineal, while a substantial bride-price must be paid to the male family head when a girl is taken away for marriage. South and West, on the contrary, the country is all savannah and the Basakata who are living there make their living mostly from agriculture, an occupation in which the women contribute more than the men to the family income. They recognize matrilineal descent and they marry without a dowry. In the centre, around the lake itself, the country is of a transitional character, both geographically and anthropologically. The inhabitants speak dialects of the Kundu language, but their kinship system is not strictly patrilineal, and bride-price is not as important a matter as in the forest.

The Kundu are comparatively recent invaders of this southernmost end of the Congo forest, some of them apparently were still living farther North as late as the eighteenth century. They were subject to so many investigations for the purposes of indirect colonial administration that the reconstruction of their history made out of the analysis and comparison of local traditions deserves some attention. According to Van der

* S. and J. Comhaire-Sylvain are now working for the Columbia University programe for the study of Man in the Tropics, in the United States, after field work in the Belgian Congo and in Nigeria.

Kerken who, as provincial commissioner, was largely responsible for initiating these inquiries in the 1920's, those Kundu who now occupy the Oshwe Territory, reaching the Kasai River and so the southeastern limits of the Lake district, must have arrived there in the early nineteenth century. They seem to have led the whole Mongo group in migrations which started somewhere north of the Belgian Congo, the Southern tribes crossing the Uele and Aruwimi Rivers some time between 1300 and 1500, and the Congo, at a place between the European stations of Bumba and Stanleyville, between 1300 and 1600. The Oshwe sub-tribe, usually known as Bankutshu, was followed by the Ekonda, who now occupy the northeastern part of the Lake Leopold II district, crossed the Ruki and Tshuapa Rivers, right on the Equator, late in the eighteenth century and left that region for their present abode at the time the Bankutshu were settling in theirs.

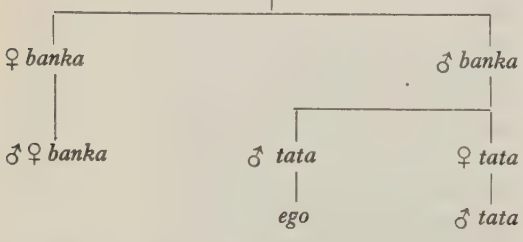
The Kundu seem to have been accompanied by Pygmies from the earliest known time of their migrations. They apparently underwent together the process of adjustment from savannah to forest life and it seems that it was on this occasion that they learned the use of iron, especially for making knives, of bows and arrows, and of shields for protection. There are traces of a possible matrilineal tinge in their ancient customs. In our region, the Kundu met with aborigines who may account in part for the existence in many tribal units of villages of distinct status. Though all three groups, Kundu, Pygmies and alleged aborigines today are apparently indistinguishable in their language and kinship system, all non-Kundu groups are held to be collective slaves. Van der Kerken's opinion is that these aborigines were proto-Bantu of a lighter skin colour than the Kundu, which survives in the case of a few individuals, and that they were responsible for the introduction of the use of iron in our district before the sixth century A.D.

On the other hand, the Kundu also came across the Basakata and allied matrilineal tribes, who in the early eighteenth century probably were in occupation of the transitional zone around the lake itself, as well as of their present abodes. The results of investigations among these tribes were published by a political officer who conducted them under Monsieur Van der Kerken's supervision (Foquet and Van der Kerken, "Les populations indigènes des territoires de Kutu et de Nsontin", *Congo*, 4, 1924, pp. 129–171). There seems to be no doubt that they came from the Middle-Congo region of French Equatorial Africa, crossing the Congo River probably as early as the sixth century A.D. Occasional data of historical character have been available on the Bateke, their neighbours to the West, with whom they are closely related, since the advent of the Portuguese, *circa* 1482. They probably spread very slowly, and the Basakata do not seem to have resided on their present grounds for more than between eight and six centuries. *Circa* 1700, they probably occupied the lake region as well as their present abode, so that the transitional character of the Kundu in control there to-day would constitute a form of adjustment to life with their matrilineal subjects. Isolated matrilineal villages among the Booli and other sub-tribes of the Oshwe territory seem to be legacies of the passage through this region of some Badinga and other clans who came from and went back to the country south of the Kasai during the first half of the eighteenth century (J. Vansina, "Migrations dans la province du Kasai, une hypothèse", *Zaire*, 10, January 1956, pp. 69–85).

The most remarkable feature of forest Kundu society is the *nkumu*, or *longomo*, holder of a non-hereditary title which he buys together with the appropriate insignia. They are few in number, half a dozen or so in each sub-tribe of about 3,000 members, but their prestige is such that even hereditary chiefs have been seen to pay for such a title, which carries prestige but no particular authority of its own. They may be a legacy from the aboriginal hierarchy, prior to the Kundu invasions, adjusted to new conditions with a loss of a possible previous hereditary status. The institution has been observed in the neighbouring Lake Tumba region by H. D. Brown, and described in his "The *Nkumu* of the Tumba, Ritual Chieftainship of the Middle Congo" (*Africa*, 14, 1944, pp. 431–447).

In the zone of transition, the dominant group is an early wave of Kundu conquerors. Among them, the Bolia are living on the outskirts of the forest, north of the lake, and probably came last. With them, *nkumu* (with a characteristic forest prefix in *n*) means either a sub-tribe chief or a village chief. The former title is hereditary, in patrilineal succession, but the second one in every village may be claimed by members of several sibs, on the ground of divine choice while asleep, expressed in a dream. The result is that the village sometimes is run by another man than the head of the land-owning kin group, a situation unknown to the forest Kundu, and apparently the first breach in an original system of patrilineal succession. The tribe between the Bolia and the Basakata is known as Basengere. They have sub-tribe chiefs whom they call *kumu*, without an *n*. There is a big difference between them and the Bolia *nkumu* because the heads of matrilineal clans can prevent them from taking office by refusing to concur in their investiture. The Basengere recognize both lines of descent but their patrilineal kin groups are only important in political matters. In their language, the father, his sister, and her son are all *tata* (father), and in each generation, the descendants through the daughters are grandparents (*banka*) to the children of their first cousins, descendants through the sons.

PARTIAL KINSHIP DIAGRAM



There are village *kumu*, but the head of the land-owning clan everywhere remains the only effective authority.

In the savannah, matrilineal succession alone is recognized, as well described by Father J. Denis, of the Scheut order, in his "L' organisation d'un peuple primitif" (*Congo*, 15, 1935, pp. 481–502). There is an exception in the case of the rulers of the Badia sub-tribe, next to the Basengere. This dynasty of Kundu conquerors maintains its own patrilineal rules of succession. Their authority is far from remaining unchallenged, and their chief in the 1920's was restored to power by the colonial authority after years of exile. At the other end of the Basakata area, the Babai, a sub-tribe in direct contact with the forest Kundu, have lost to their neighbours several villages whose residents, having recognized Kundu chiefs, now follow their patrilineal system of succession. The word *kumu* exists among the Basakata, but only to designate minor and specialized offices, just the opposite of the forest situation, where, being a *nkumu*, carries prestige but no definite authority.

Leopoldville

About 15,000 members of the Lake tribes, most of them Basakata, have moved to Leopoldville. Their emigration is a recent phenomenon, they were only 5,000 in town in 1944, and less than 2,000 in 1934, as mentioned in S. Comhaire-Sylvain's *Food and Leisure among the African Youth of Leopoldville, Belgian Congo* (Communication of the School of African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1950). Matriliny is subject to determinate European opposition, and hardly consistent with the employment structure, but the inter-tribal customs which have grown in this urban community display a strong matrilineal tinge. When speaking French, the Leopoldville residents call their cousins on the mother's side alone their brothers (*frères*) and sisters (*soeurs*). Three French words are used to distinguish the eldest brother of the mother (*oncle*, uncle), the mother's sister, if elder (*grand'mère*, grandmother), and the mother's sister, if younger (*petite mère*, little mother). No particular mention is made of the father's sister, but the father's brother is *grand' père* (grandfather), if elder, and *petit père* (little father), if younger. Extended family ties are kept alive with the help of low wages and lack of security in European employment. The children

often are in the care of distant relatives, the favourite guardians being in this order: the mother's blood brother, preferably the eldest, the mother's blood sister, the child's eldest sibling, the mother's mother, the mother's maternal uncle or aunt, the mother's first cousin, the father's sibling. Economic circumstances may interfere with the choice but there is no known example of a maternal uncle who declined to take care of his sister's child.

The trend toward uniform rules is facilitated by the fact that, whichever line is recognized, the eldest brother of the wife always becomes the ultimate receiver of the bridewealth, either through the maternal uncle (matrilineal tribes), or through the father (patrilineal tribes). Bridewealth is of supreme importance to the Basakata in town, though unknown at home, and the father receives a gift supplementary to the dowry proper, which is paid to the maternal uncle of the bride.

Economic factors account for this patrilineal element in a system which, however, remains matrilineal as a whole. Wages are practically always earned by men and women are not eager to claim their children in case of divorce, because there is hardly any other occupation open to them than prostitution. But kinship change is resisted, as exemplified in the case of Government employees, who cannot keep their jobs without entering a European patrilineal marriage. When the wife in such a marriage dies, her elder brother usually puts claims on his nephews although he knows that colonial courts will not uphold them.

Conclusions

In the tribal set-up, it seems that the widespread view that succession in the long run is governed by the economy receives confirmation. Small and isolated groups accept the rules of the dominant tribe if consistent with their economy and conquerors see their own rules slowly undermined in the opposite case. Inconsistencies may occur on the occasion of such change, but bridewealth is clearly connected with patrilineal succession. The example of the forest *nkumu* seems to indicate that the change may consist in dropping heredity altogether, as well as in a shift to the other line.

The change thus occurring in the tribal set-up can only be described as very slow, but slow as it is, there seems to be a need for taking it into account rather than describing tribal kinship systems as traditionally or customarily this or that, without qualifications. Most tribes in the Lake region display tokens of what apparently can be best explained in terms of cultural change.

It is impossible to ascertain the time involved in such a change so far as our district is concerned, but enough information is available on nearby tribes to let us believe that this is a matter of fairly rapid mutation on one or more particular points, rather than slow and steady change of the whole system. The migrations of the Bapende and other tribes across the River Kasai – including the Badinga, who occupy villages in our region among the Booli – were studied by Dr. G. L. Haveaux, in *La Tradition historique des Bapende orientaux* (Mémoire, Institut Royal Colonial Belge, 1954). This observer, who has twenty years of experience among the Bapende, was fortunate enough to recognize in them a tribe which at the end of the fifteenth century was living in the Loanda region of Angola, which still bears the name of one of their clans, the Akwa Loanda. At that time they were patrilineal in their kinship system, which they claim to have carried with them from an earlier residence, known only through oral tradition, on the upper Zambezi. It was the Portuguese who made them fall back into the interior, where they joined together with other tribes in a matrilineal kingdom which gained historical fame with Queen Zinga (1623–63), baptized by the missionaries as Dona Anna de Souza. This kingdom was broken up under pressure from both European and African rivals, and the Bapende settled on their present lands in the Middle Kasai basin in the early eighteenth century, as a matrilineal tribe.

On the other hand, the existence of change in the tribal set-up prior to the advent or direct influence of Europeans does not mean that such change can be easily effected, under missionary or other pressure. Here we have the example of the Bakongo, a tribe not far away from our district, which has been subject to European mis-

sionary influence since the early sixteenth century. Pressure for the acceptance of patrilineal rules of succession after such a long time led to no other results than the diffusion of the dowry rule, which seems due to commercial rather than to religious reasons. It sounds incredible to-day to read how a missionary thirty years ago was confident that he had seen the Bakongo abolish matriliny by a political decision (J. Van Wing, "Une évolution de la coutume Bakongo", *Congo*, 6, 1926, p. 363). Even missionaries now agree that the economic factor is of supreme importance in this field and that change in any case cannot be expected to be rapid (L. Bruyns, *De Social Economische Ontwikkeling van de Bakongo* (*Gewest Inkisi*), Verhandeling Koninklijk Belgisch Koloniaal Instituut, Brussels, 1951). The decisive point in this case seems to be that European traders always tend to contact men rather than women for the purposes of their commercial activities, and the same process is likely to be repeated among the tribal groups of Lake Leopold II.

Faster change can be expected to occur at Leopoldville but even there, African cultures display an amazing capacity to survive against overwhelming odds. The combined assault of economic, political and missionary factors against matrilineal institutions may have succeeded in the acceptance of European kinship rules by a few *évolués* of a different tribal system, but the masses do not seem to be ready for such a change. Inter-tribal customs have developed but the kinship system that has grown out of the necessities of adjustment to urban life is far from being of a European type. Fast and easy agreement over new rules is not likely to lead to further change than now obtains.

An easily neglected factor in urban change is prostitution, or rather the fact that women eager to experiment a new way of life are easily labelled prostitutes by Europeans and Congolese alike. Many of the women actually stick to their men so long as they are able to maintain European standards in their temporary household. Prostitutes, considering their emphasis on work as the business of men and their lack of interest in authority over their own children, would be very effective agents of cultural change, if their impact on native society was not restricted by their loss of social status.

Things being what they are, the Leopoldville native society remains conspicuous for the maintenance of extended family ties (see J. Comhaire, "Economic change and the extended family", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Change*, May 1956, and "Urbanization in the Belgian Congo", *American Journal of Sociology*, July 1956) and extended family control must be expected to work for the maintenance of tribal rules not inconsistent with the present inter-tribal adjustment which, in turn, cannot be expected to change further for a long time to come.

AN AUGMENTATIVE NOUN CLASS IN TSONGA

E. B. VAN WYK *

SYNOPSIS

An augmentative noun class, not mentioned before by students of the language, has been discovered in Tsonga. It is reminiscent of class 21 as found in certain other Bantu languages, but the phonology of its prefix, ji-, *indicates that it cannot immediately be connected with class 21. It seems that it results from a fusion of classes 5 and 21, although other theories may possibly also explain its etymology. This class is unique in that it has its own concords and pronouns, whereas class 21 usually takes those of class 5 in the languages in which it occurs.*

A. Introductory

During 1953 I set a question on derivative nouns in an examination paper for one of the degree courses in Tsonga, in the University of South Africa. In his answer to this question one of the candidates stated that augmentative nouns could be formed by prefixing *dyi-* to other nouns, e.g. *homu* (beast) > *dyihomu* (large beast). I was not aware of the existence of such nouns since I had never seen any reference to them in the available literature in and on Tsonga and the related Tswha and Ronga languages, [1] nor had I heard it in speech.

In the course of 1955 I had occasion to mention this interesting answer to Mr. Sam Baloyi, who is well known as a student and writer of Tsonga. He assured me that augmentative nouns were used by all Tsonga speakers, and he expressed his surprise at the fact that no notice had been taken of them by writers on the language. He provided me with a number of examples of augmentatives and their use in phrases and sentences. From these examples I concluded that Tsonga had a special noun class for augmentatives, which had not been noticed before and which was of great importance to comparative Bantu linguistics.

I proceeded with the aid of Mr. Baloyi to make a study of this noun class. I also sought the help of Mr. A. E. Mpapele of Elim, Soutpansberg, and Mr. E. H. Ntsanwisi of Shiluvane, Letaba, both members of the Tsonga Language Committee of the Department of Native Affairs, and Mr. E. P. Ndhambi of Ribolla, Soutpansberg, who is known for a number of publications in Tsonga, one of which was consulted for this study and is mentioned in the appendix. All the actual data from Tsonga were obtained from these four men. I welcome the opportunity of thanking them again for their help and enthusiasm.

I also had the benefit of discusssing the subject, partly or wholly, with the following persons: Prof. J. A. Engelbrecht and Mr. H. F. Sentker of the University of Pretoria, Prof. D. T. Cole and Mrs P.-D. Cole-Beuchat of the University of the Witwatersrand, Prof. D. Ziervogel and Mr. J. A. Louw of the University of South Africa, and Dr. T. M. H. Endemann of Potchefstroom. They are thanked for their kind suggestions and interest.

* Mr. E. B. van Wyk is Senior Lecturer in Bantu languages in the University of Pretoria.

[1] Books which were published since then contained no information on augmentative nouns either.

B. Orthography and Sources

Examples from Tsonga and other Bantu languages referred to are written in the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association. The transcription of Tsonga is based on the dialects of Soutpansberg, of which a phonemic analysis is found in Endemann's study of Tsonga tonology. A useful table of phonetic symbols is found in Chapter VIII of Doke's comparative study of the Southern Bantu languages. The transcription of Venda is based on my own observations. Data concerning Swahili, Pokomo, Shambala and Zigula are taken from Meinhof's publications on these languages. Full particulars concerning these and other publications consulted and referred to appear in the bibliography at the end of this paper.

Examples from Meinhof's hypothetically reconstructed Ur-Bantu are written in the orthography he uses in his two great comparative works.

As regards word-division the practice of the current orthographies of the languages concerned or the writers consulted is followed.

C. Significance and Use of the Augmentative Class

The augmentative class is characterized by the class prefix *ji-* and is used to denote objects of extraordinary, exceptional or extreme physical size, e.g.

jindɸɔpfu	(< *ndpopfu*)	(extremely big elephant)
jinɬɔkɔ	(< *nɬɔkɔ*)	(extraordinarily big head)
jiɬɔka	(< *ʃiɬɔka*)	(unusually big axe)

When used of non-concrete concepts the augmentative class denotes unusual importance, e.g.

jinanḍu	(< *nanḍu*)	(extremely serious case)
jimñaka	(< *mñaka*)	(unusually important matter)

In most of the cases this unusual size or importance is coupled with some unfavourable condition or trait such as repulsiveness, ugliness, ungainliness, unnaturalness, deformity, etc., e.g.

jiŋwana (< *ŋwana*) (big, fat, over-developed child; delinquent)
jinoji (< *noji*) (evil, ugly, sinister witch)
jilɔ (< *ʃilɔ* (big, ugly, misshapen, unnatural, repulsive thing)

The significance of this class can be appreciated when augmentative nouns are compared with corresponding nouns of other classes which are qualified by adjectival constructions built on the stem *–kulu /–kulukumba* (big). Cf. eg.

wansati lɔ ŋkulu(kumba)	(a big woman, otherwise perfectly normal and likeable)
jiwansati (< *wansati*)	(a big, ugly, unpleasant, disgusting, evil woman)
mbjana le jikulu(kumba)	(a big dog, otherwise normal and even harmless)
jimbjana (< *mbjana*)	(a huge, terrifying, sinister dog)

It is obvious that it is almost impossible to translate augmentative nouns accurately into English by means of single words. In order to avoid lengthy descriptions, however, I shall translate them, where possible, with nouns qualified by single adjectives which render the nearest, though perhaps not the most accurate English equivalents.

A most interesting phenomenon concerning this class is the fact that it is considered impolite and unrefined to use it in normal discourse. Its use implies dislike, derision, disgust and insult where the object or person referred to is concerned, and disrespect where the person or persons in whose presence it is used are concerned. The Tsonga verb stem *tsɛkɛtsɛla* (mock or hurt with words) aptly formulates the implications of the use of augmentative nouns. It is significant that the Hlengwe dialect, in which this class is used in ordinary conversation, is considered by some Tsonga as "rough and uncouth". These social implications may to some extent account for the fact that augmentative nouns have thus far escaped the notice of students of the language.

On the other hand augmentative nouns are frequently used in folk tales and animals stories, [1] and in these cases their use is regarded as indicative of a good control of the language and a polished style. Their significance suits exactly the grotesque and exaggerated figures sometimes appearing in such stories, and it contributes greatly in creating the atmosphere of mystery, wizardry or wickedness so essential to some stories. Thus an evil, misformed, one-eyed person will be referred to as *jigɛβɛŋga* < *ʃigɛβɛŋga* (monster), a fearsome, three-legged animal as *jiɦari* < *ʃiɦari* (wild animal), etc.

D. Form of the Augmentative Class

The augmentative class consists mostly of nouns derived from other nouns. It is necessary, therefore, to treat of its form in relation to the derivation of such nouns.

The class prefix *ji-* is prefixed to whole nouns – which will henceforth be referred to as the bases of the derivation – in the following cases:

(a) when the base has a monosyllabic stem, e.g.

jimunɦu	(monstrous person)	< *munɦu* (cl. 1, person) [2]
jimuti	(extremely large village)	< *muti* (cl. 3, village)
jiribjɛ	(boulder, mountain peak)	< *ribjɛ* (cl. 5, stone)

(b) when the prefix of the base is disguised as a result of some phonological change, e.g.

jiŋwana	(big, stout child)	< *ŋwana* (*mu-ana*, cl. 1, child)
jiŋwini	(stout, unfair owner)	< *ŋwini* (*mu-ini*, cl. 1, owner)
jinsati	(very fat, unpleasant wife)	< *nsati* (*mu-sati*, cl. 1, wife)
jiŋkuwa	(tremendously big fig-tree)	< *ŋkuwa* (*mu-kuwa*, cl. 3, fig-tree)
jinanḍu	(important, ugly matter)	< *nanḍu* (*mu-lanḍu*, cl. 3, matter)
jinambu	(wide, dangerous river)	< *nambu* (*mu-lambu*, cl. 3, river)
jiŋaŋga	(big, awe-inspiring doctor)	< *ŋaŋga* (cl. 9, doctor) [3]
jiɦuku	(frightfully big fowl)	< *ɦuku* (cl. 9, fowl)
ji(ji)ŋgɦwɛ	(ominous, vindictive tiger)	< *jiŋgɦwɛ* (cl. 9, tiger) [4]
ji(ji)ndɬu	(enormously big hut)	< *jindɬu* (cl. 9, hut) [4]

[1] However, I have found no examples in published ones.

[2] Noun classes are numbered according to the practice of Meinhof.

[3] In the case of nouns of class 9 the prefixes and the stems have fused to such an extent that they can, in most cases, no longer be abstracted by reference to related forms.

[4] The morpheme *ji-* found with monosyllabic nouns of class 9 is merely a stabilizer, i.e. an additional syllable ensuring that the laws of word accent are not violated. For the use of the term "stabilizer" cf. Cole (1955).

The only exceptions to this last rule are the following:

jilɔ	(monster)	< *ʃilɔ* (thing)
jibja	(big possession)	< *ʃibja* (possession)

In the following cases the prefix *ji-* appears directly before noun stems:

(a) when the stems are polysyllabic, e.g.

jiluŋgu	(big, unlikable European)	< *muluŋgu*	(cl. 1, European)
jitirɦi	(big, tireless worker)	< *mutirɦi*	(cl. 1, worker)
jifaki	(big mealie cob)	< *ʃifaki*	(cl. 7, mealie cob)
jiɬɔka	(big axe)	< *ʃiɬɔka*	(cl. 7, axe)
jitiɦɔ	(big, rough finger)	< *ritiɦɔ*	(cl. 11, finger)
jisiβa	(big feather)	< *risiβa*	(cl. 11, feather)

(b) when the base itself has normally no prefix, as in the case of class 5, e.g.

jiβɔkɔ	(unusually strong arm)	< *βɔkɔ*	(arm)
jitikɔ	(very large country)	< *tikɔ*	(country)

(c) in the case of adjectival stems, [1] e.g.

jimɦaka le jintṣha (a new important case)
jinɦunɬɬwa (*le*)*jiŋwɛ* (one big giraffe)

E. Concordial Agreement with Augmentative Nouns

The augmentative class has its own pronouns and concords by means of which agreement between augmentative nouns and words or constructions governed by nouns is denoted:

Absolute Pronoun:	*jɔna*
Demonstratives:	
(a) First position:	*leji*
(b) Second position:	
(i) Unemphatic:	*leɟɔ*
(ii) Emphatic:	*jeɟɔ*
(c) Third Position:	*lejija*
Quantitative: [2]	*ɦikwaɟɔ*
Enumerative Concord:	*ji-*, e.g. *jiŋwana* (another one)
Possessive Concord:	*ja*
Subjectival concord:	
(a) Full form:	*ji*, e.g. *ji tɬherilɛ* (it has returned)
(b) Shortened form:	*j-*, e.g. *ja tɬhɛla* (it is returning)
	jɔ tɬhɛla (it has just returned)
Objectival concord:	*ji*, e.g *nḍa ji laβa* (I am seeking it)

[1] The adjectives of Tsonga exhibit most of the morphological and syntactical characteristics of nouns and may therefore be regarded as constituting a subcategory of nouns.

[2] This part of speech is termed "quantitative" because of its semantic similarity to the quantitatives characterized by *-nke* in Nguni and *-hlê- /tlhê* in Sotho. and not because of any morphological correspondence,

This is most interesting considering the fact that other Bantu languages which have comparable noun classes use the concords and pronouns of other classes to denote the agreement between these nouns and other word or constructions (cf. section G below).

The following examples illustrate the use of augmentative nouns in phrases and sentences:

jimunɦu jɔna ji ta famba	(the monstrous person, he will go)
jiɗɔka ja wɛna nḍa ji laβa	(your big axe, I am seeking it)
jiŋwana ja ɦa kula	(the big, stout child is still growing)
jimbjana jɔ ja	(the monstrous dog has just eaten)
jiŋgɦala ja tintshaβa	(the big, fierce lion of the mountains)
jimaŋga ja mina	(my big cat)
jinomu ɦikwajɔ	(all of the ungainly, big mouth)
jimɦɛlɛmbɛ leji	(this enormous rhinoceros)
jimɦaka lejɔ/jejɔ	(that important case)
jiɦari jiŋwana	(another big, misshapen animal)
jinarɦi jimbɛ	(a different big buffalo)

F. The Plural Forms of Augmentative Nouns

The plurals of augmentatives can be formed in one of three ways, viz.:

(a) by substitution of *ma–* for *ji–*
(b) by preprefixation of *ma–* to *ji–* and
(c) by substitution of *mazi–* for *ji–*

It seems that the (c) forms are dialectal variants of the (a) and (b) forms. The (a) and (b) forms are in some cases mutually exclusive and seem to be in free variation in other cases. It should be added that in the case of augmentatives with nouns of class 5 as bases the (a) forms cannot be used in the plural, since this would cause confusion between the augmentative plural and the plural of the base.

The formation of augmentative plurals entails changes of the bases in some cases. These changes may belong to one of two types:

(a) In some cases the formation of augmentative plurals necessitates the reversion of phonological changes affecting the prefixes of the bases.

(b) In a few cases changes occur in the number of the bases. It would seem that the singular augmentatives are derived from singular bases whereas the plural augmentatives are derived from plural bases in these cases. This implies that the plural forms are not derived from the singular forms.

In the following cases *maji–* or *mazi–* may appear in the plural forms:

jintshaβa	(large mountain)	>	*majintshaβa*	or *mazintshaβa*
jiluŋgu	(big European)	>	*majiluŋgu*	or *maziluŋgu*
jimuti	(large village)	>	*majimuti*	or *mazimuti*
jiŋkuwa	(big fig-tree)	>	*majiŋkuwa*	or *maziŋkuwa*
jinɬana	(big, broad back)	>	*majinɬana*	or *mazinɬana*
jimɦaka	(important matter)	>	*majimɦaka*	or *mazimɦaka*
jiɦuku	(big fowl)	>	*majiɦuku*	or *maziɦuku*
jiɗɔka	(big axe)	>	*majiɗɔka*	or *maziɗɔka*
jifaki	(big mealie cob)	>	*majifaki*	or *mazifaki*
jinɦɛnɦa	(big warrior)	>	*majinɦɛnɦa*	or *mazinɦɛnɦa*

jiŋɔka (big snake) < *maji ŋɔka* or *maziŋɔka*

In the following cases *ma-* or *mazi-* may appear in the plural forms:

jitirfi	(big worker)	< *matirfi*	or *mazitirfi*
jifambi	(big traveller)	< *mafambi*	or *mazifambi*
jinuna	(big husband)	< *manuna*	or *mazinuna*
jinfiompfu	(big nose)	< *manfiompfu*	or *mazinfiompfu*
jimbuti	(big goat)	< *mambuti*	or *mazimbuti*
jiŋaŋani	(big bird)	< *maŋaŋani*	or *maziŋaŋani*

In the following cases *maji-*, *ma-* or *mazi-* may appear in the plural forms:

jindʒopfu	(big elephant)	> *majindʒopfu*,	*mandʒopfu*	or *mazindʒopfu*
jimurfi	(big tree)	> *majimurfi*,	*mamurfi*	or *mazimurfi*
jimbjana	(big dog)	> *majimbjana*,	*mambjana*	or *mazimbjana*
jiŋaŋga	(big doctor)	> *majiŋaŋga*,	*maŋaŋga*	or *maziŋaŋga*
jisiβa	(big feather)	> *majisiβa*,	*masiβa*	or *mazisiβa*
jitɔja	(big coward)	> *majitɔja*,	*matɔja*	or *mazitɔja*
jimaŋga	(big cat)	> *majimaŋga*,	*mamaŋga*	or *mazimaŋga*
jiŋgfiala	(big lion)	> *majiŋgfiala*,	*maŋgfiala*	or *maziŋgfiala*
jimɾfuβu	(big hippopotamus)	> *majimɾfuβu*,	*mamɾfuβu*	or *mazimɾfuβu*

Phonological changes are found in the following cases:

jinanḍu	(important cases)	> *majinanḍu*,	*majilanḍu*	or *mazinanḍu*
jinambu	(big river)	> *majinambu*,	*majilambu*	or *mazinambu*
jinomu	(big mouth)	> *majilomu*,	*malomu*	or *mazilomu*

In the following cases double sets of plural forms may be found, due to the optional retention of a stabilizer:

ji(ji)ŋgfiwɛ	(big leopard)	> *maji(ji)ŋgfiwɛ*,	*ma(ji)ŋgfiwɛ*	or *mazi(ji)ŋgfiwɛ*
ji(ji)ndʒu	(big hut)	> *maji(ji)ndʒu*,	*ma(ji)ndʒu*	or *mazi(ji)ndʒu*

In the following cases the singular bases differ in number from the plural bases:

jiwansati (< *wansati*)	(big woman)	> *majiβaβasati*	(< *βaβasati*)	or *maziwansati*
jiwanuna (< *wanuna*)	(big man)	> *majiβaβanuna*	(< *βaβanuna*)	or *maziwanuna*
jiŋwini (< *ŋwini*)	(big owner)	> *maβeni*	(< *βeni*)	or *maziŋwini*
jitifiɔ (< *ritifiɔ*)	(big finger)	> *mantifiɔ*	(< *tintifiɔ*)	or *mazitifiɔ*
jimunfiu (< *munfiu*)	(big person)	> *maβanfiu*	(< *βanfiu*),	*mamunfiu* or *mazimunfiu*

The plurals of *jilɔ* (big thing) and *jibja* (big possession) are formed by preprefixation of *ma-* only, i.e. they become *majilɔ* and *majibja* respectively.

All augmentative plurals belong to class 6, due to the presence of the class prefix *ma-*. Cf. the following examples of their use in phrases and sentences:

maβanfiu/mamunfiu/mazimunfiu lawa (these big people)

majimaŋga/mamaŋga/mazimaŋga lawɔ/jalawɔ/walawɔ [1] (those big cats)

[1] *jalawɔ* and *walawɔ* are dialectal variants of *lawɔ* and seem to be more emphatic or definite than *lawɔ*. Cf. the corresponding singular forms: *jeɟɔ* and *leɟɔ*.

majimɦɛlɛmbɛ/mamɦɛlɛmbɛ/mazimɦɛlɛmbɛ lawaja (those big rhinos yonder)
majilomu/malomu/mazinomu hikwawɔ (all the big mouths)
majimɦaka/mazimɦaka mambirɦi (two important cases)
majimpfuβu/mȧmpfuβu/mazimpfuβu la jɔ/lamɔ tala [1] (many big hippos)
majiɲɔka/maziɲɔka ja/ma tintshaβa [1] (the big snakes of the mountains)
majiɦomu/maziɦomu ja/ma tɬhɛlɛla efiβaleni [1] (the big cattle are returning to the kraal)
mamunɦu/maβanɦu/mazimunɦu lawa ja/ma βalaβula ririmi rimbɛ [1] (these big people speak a different tongue)
majifumu/mazifumu lawaja ɦa ja/ma rɦanḍa [1] (those big assegais yonder, we like them)

G. Geographical Distribution of the Augmentative Class

My informants all assert that the augmentative class occurs in all the dialects of Transvaal Tsonga. It would seem, nevertheless, that its use is confined to certain dialects only. It would otherwise be difficult to understand why it had escaped the notice of earlier writers, most of whom had an intimate knowledge of the language. The social implications (cf. section C) of its use are surely not of such a nature that augmentative nouns could not have been used in their presence at one time or another.

Our present knowledge of the dialectal variants of Tsonga is too little to pin down exactly the locality at which and dialects in which augmentative nouns are found. We can state safely, however that they are used by the people belonging to the Maluleke (Soutpansberg), Cauke (Soutpansberg and Nkuna (Letaba) clans. They seem to occur most frequently in the dialect of the Hlengwe clan along the Pafuri and Limpopo rivers.

H. The Connection between the Augmentative Class of Tsonga and Class 21

At first glance one would be inclined to associate the augmentative class of Tsonga with the augmentative classes occurring in some other Bantu languages and grouped together by Meinhof as class 21, for which he reconstructed the Ur-Bantu prefix *ɣî-*. Class 21 is found, *inter alia*, in the following languages:

Venda:	*ḍi-*, e.g.	*ḍi-kɔlɔmɔ*	(big beast),	cf. *khɔlɔmɔ* (cl. 9, beast)
		ḍi-ṭhu	(monster),	cf. *tʃhi-ṭhu* (cl. 7, thing)
Swahili:	*ji-*, e.g.	*ji-bwa*	(big dog),	cf. *m-bwa* (cl. 9, dog)
		ji-thu	(big person),	cf. *m-thu* (cl. 1, person)
Shambala:	*zi-*, e.g.	*zi-zi*	(big village),	cf. *mu-zi* (cl. 3, village)
		zi-ti	(big tree),	cf. *mu-ti* (cl. 3, tree)
Zigula:	*zi-*, e.g.	*zi-nthu*	(big person),	cf. *m-nthu* (cl. 1, person)
		z-umba	(big house),	cf. *n-umba* (cl. 9, house)

In Shona it appears as *zi-* (cf. Louw, 1913, and Marconnès, 1931), e.g.

zi-baŋga	(big knife),	cf. *baŋga* (cl. 5, knife)
zi-ŋɔmbɛ	(big ox),	cf. *ŋɔmbɛ* (cl. 9, beast)

[1] The subjectival, objectival and possessive concords of class 6 may be either *ja* or *ma*. *lajɔ tala* and *lamɔ tala* are shortened forms of *la ja ku tala* and *la ma ku tala* respectively.

In none of these languages, however, does class 21 appear with its own concords and pronouns. It is usually incorporated into class 5 and therefore uses the concords and pronouns of this class. Cf. the following examples from Venda:

ḓiṭhu heḽi ndi a ḽi βɔṇa	(this monster, I see it)
ḓikɔɬɔmɔ ḽiɲwɛ	(another big beast)
ḓaɲḓa ɬɔɲɛ	(the big hand, it, i.e. as for the big hand)

In some languages the prefix of class 21 is used in some cases as a mere augmentative morpheme appearing after the prefixes of other classes, including class 5, e.g.

Venda:	*ḽi-ḓi-bɣa* (big dog)		cf. *m-bɣa* (cl. 9, dog)
Pokomo:	*mu-dzi-dzi* (cl. 3)	(big village)	cf. *mu-dzi* (cl. 3, village)
	i-dzi-dzi (cl. 5)		
	i-dzi-hi (cl. 5) (big tree)		cf. *mu-hi* (cl. 3, tree)

In some cases the prefix of class 21 is, strangely enough, used as a diminutive morpheme after the prefixes of classes 7 and 13, e.g.

Swahili:	*ki-ji-ji*	(cl. 7, small village), cf.	*m-ji*	(cl. 3, village)
Zigula:	*ka-zi-ti*	(cl. 13, small bush), cf.	*m-ti*	(cl. 3, tree)
Pokomo:	*ka-dzi-hi*	(cl. 13, small tree), cf.	*mu-hi*	(cl. 3, tree)
Shambala:	*ka-zi-ti*	(cl. 13, small tree), cf.	*mu-ti*	(cl. 3, tree)

A closer investigation reveals that there is no immediate connection between the augmentative class of Tsonga and class 21. Apart from the fact that unlike class 21 in other languages it has its own concords and pronouns, and that its significance does not seem to coincide completely with that of class 21, its prefix does not correspond phonologically to the hypothetical form *B. ɣî-*. The phonemic sequence B. *ɣî* and the phonemic sequences occurring in the prefixes of class 21 in the afore-mentioned languages never correspond phonologically to the sequence *ji* in Tsonga (although they may correspond phonetically as in the case of Swahili). The following comparative table of morphemes containing the sequences corresponding to B. *ɣî* illustrates this:

Ur-Bantu	*Tsonga*	*Venda*	*Swahili*	*Shambala*	*Zigula*	*Pokomo*	*Shona*
ɣi- (pref. cl. 21)	?	*ḓi-*	*ji-*	*zi-*	*zi-*	*dzi-*	*zi-*
ɣî (reflexive morpheme)	*ti*	*ḓi*	*ji*	(*ki*) [1]	(*kwɛ*) [1]	*dzi*	(*zi*) [1]
-ɣîko (hearth)	*ji-tikɔ*	–	*jikɔ*	*zikɔ*	*zikɔ*	*dzikɔ*	–
-ɣîḵo (eye)	*tiɗɔ*	*iṭɔ*	*jitɔ*	*ziʃɔ*	–	*dzitsɔ*	*ziso*
-ɣîno (tooth)	*tinɔ*	*ḽiɲɔ*	*jinɔ*	*zinɔ*	–	–	*zino*
Plural:	*mɛnɔ* (*ma-inɔ*)						
-iɣî (water)	*ma-ti*	*ma-ḓi*	*ma-ji*	*ma-zi*	*ma-zi*	*ma-dzi*	–
-ɣî (village)	*mu-ti*	*mu-ḓi*	*m-ji*	*mu-zi*	*m-zi*	*mu-dzi*	–
-ɣîva (steal)	*jiβa*	*tṣha*	*iba*	–	–	–	–
Conclusion:							
ɣî	*ti*/ *ji*/*i*	*ḓi*/*i*	*ji*/*i*	*zi*	*zi*	*dzi*	*zi*

[1] These morphemes derive from different protoforms, and are therefore not connected with B. *ɣî*.

We have to conclude, then, that since the augmentative prefix of Tsonga does not correspond phonologically to the prefix of class 21 in those languages in which it occurs, there can also be no immediate connection between the augmentative class of Tsonga and class 21.

I. Phonological Analysis of the Prefix *ji–*

The phoneme *j* occurs, apart from the augmentative prefix, in two types of environment only, *viz.* (a) in diminutive nouns where they mark the final boundaries of certain root morphemes, and (b) in the body of root morphemes. In the case of diminutive nouns *j* replaces the sequence *li* (phonetically: *ri*) found in corresponding non-diminutive nouns, e.g.

tshujana (small mortar) < *tshuri* (mortar)
mmijana (small body) < *mmiri* (body), etc.

In these cases *j* may be called a secondary phoneme resulting from the juxtaposition of the phonemes *l* and *i* before a vowel, in this case *a*. The phoneme *j* is therefore a fusion of *l* and *i*.

Comparison with other Bantu languages and Ur-Bantu reveals that the phoneme *j*, when it occurs in root morphemes, also represents a fusion of *l* and *i* or that it is at least related to the phoneme *l*. Cf. e.g.

ja (eat), cf. B. *lya* < *lia*

According to Van Warmelo the *j* in *jambu* (sun) and *jɔnḍa* (learn) also derives from B. *ly* < *li*. In the following cases *j* is unmistakably related to the phoneme *l*:

jaña (heal), cf. Zulu *elapha* and Northern Sotho *alaΦa*
juñala (grow old), cf. Zulu *luphala* and Northern Sotho *tʃɷΦala*

From this we may infer that the phoneme *j* occurring in the augmentative prefix is also a fusion of *l* and *i*. This means that Tsonga *ji–* corresponds to Ur-Bantu *lyi–*. A comparison of Tsonga, Ur-Bantu and those Bantu languages in which traces of class 21 are found proves that the sequences corresponding to B. *lyi* never coincide with the sequences found in the prefixes of class 21. In the following table the verb stem for "eat", containing the sequence B. *ly*, is compared in the languages concerned. In the second column the phonological equivalents of B. *lyi* and *Tsonga ji*, as these can be abstracted by reference to the stem for "eat", are given. The third column illustrates the respective prefixes of class 21. Zulu and Northern Sotho are included in this comparison in order to give readers acquainted with these languages an insight into the phonological character of the augmentative prefix of Tsonga:

Ur-Bantu:	*lya*	*lyi*	*ɣî–*
Venda:	*ɭa*	*ɭi*	*ḍi–*
Swahili:	*la*	*li*	*ji–*
Shambala:	*ja*	*ji*	*zi–*
Zigula:	*ja*	*ji*	*zi–*
Pokomo:	*ja*	*ji*	*dzi–*
Shona:	*ja* or *jga*	*ji* or *jgi*	*zi–*
Zulu:	*ɮa*	*ɮi*	–
Northern Sotho:	*ʒa*	*ʒi*	–

J. Theories concerning the Etymology of the Augmentative Class

Since it seems that there is no immediate connection between class 21 and the augmentative class of Tsonga, it will be necessary to examine a number of theories which may explain the etymology of the augmentative class. There are five which appear worth while considering. They are the following:

1. The augmentative class is a unique, hitherto unidentified noun class for which the Ur-Bantu prefix *lyi–* can be reconstructed.
2. The augmentative class is an acquisition from another Bantu language in which class 21 occurs.
3. The augmentative class is actually class 21, but its prefix has undergone a phonological change which cannot be explained.
4. The augmentative class is an outgrowth of class 5.
5. The augmentative class is a fusion of classes 5 and 21.

According to the first theory the augmentative class of Tsonga constitutes a special noun class which has not been identified before in other Bantu languages and which can therefore be added as a 24th item to Meinhof's list of 23 identified classes. The Ur-Bantu prefix of this class can be reconstructed as *lyi–*.

The weakness of this theory is that the "original" prefix *lyi–* may again be analysed as consisting of two elements, which implies that it cannot be regarded as a monomorphemic form like the other class prefixes.

According to the second theory the augmentative class is actually class 21 which appears in irregular phonological form because it was "borrowed" from some other Bantu language. This seems unlikely to be the case, however, as one would expect such an acquisition to appear either in its original form or in a form which conforms to the phonology of Tsonga. Since neither Venda nor Shona, spoken on the borders of the Tsonga area, nor any of the languages in the more distant neighbourhood of Tsonga employ *ji–* as prefix for class 21, it seems that the augmentative prefix of Tsonga cannot be an unchanged acquisition. It seems, moreover, that the prefix of class 21 of Shona, *zi–*, is used in certain augmentative plurals, which makes it all the more unlikely that the prefix of the singular forms is an acquisition from the same source. The only other possibility seems to be that the speakers must have had contact at an early stage with a Bantu language in which *ji–* was used as the prefix of class 21.

The third theory, like the second, assumes that the augmentative class is actually class 21. Unlike the second theory, however, it does not attempt to explain the phonological irregularity of the prefix. Although this theory cannot merely be passed over, it would be more useful for comparative purposes if another, more "regular" explanation can be found.

According to the fourth theory, which is suggested by a comparison with Venda and Tswha, the prefix of the augmentative class is merely a transformed variant of the prefix of class 5. The prefixes of class 5 in these two languages do not correspond phonologically to the Ur-Bantu form *li–*, as would be expected. An analysis of their phonological character reveals that they correspond to Ur-Bantu *lyi–*, in other words to Tsonga *ji–* which is the prefix of the augmentative class. This can be inferred by reference to the verb stems for "eat" and "hoe" which contain the phonemic sequences B. *ly* and *li* respectively. Cf. the following comparative table:

	Verb stem: "eat"	Verb stem: "hoe"	Regular prefix cl. 5	Actual prefix cl. 5	Augmentative prefix
Ur-Bantu:	*lya*	*lima*	*li–*	*li–*	*ɣî–*
Venda:	*ḽa*	*ḽima*	**ḽi–*	*ḽi–*	*ḓi–*

Tswha:	*ga*	*rima*	**ri–* [1]	*gi–*	–
Tsonga:	*ɟa*	*rima*	*ri–*	*ri–*	*ɟi–*

Meinhof explains this irregularity in Venda as the influence of the possessive concord of class 5. According to this theory, Venda must have had a regular prefix* *l̠i–* which was repeated in the formation of the possessive concord, i.e.* *l̠i–* a > *l̠a*, The juxtaposition of *l̠* and *i* before *a* in this case results in a new phoneme *l̠*. The noun prefix is then patterned on the possessive concord, with the result that *l* is replaced by *l̠*. We may schematize it as follows: *l̠i*: *l̠i* + *a* > *l̠a*; *l̠a–* *a* > *l̠i*. The same explanation can be applied to Tswha, i.e. *ri*: *ri* + *a* > *ga*; *ga* – *a* > *gi*.

It may be held that the augmentative prefix of Tsonga is a similar transformation of the prefix of class 5. Such an argument may be supported by the fact that class 5 has an augmentative significance in some Bantu languages, e.g. Venda:

baŋga (big knife), cf. *luΦaŋga* (cl. 11, knife),
ḍanḍa (big log), cf. *ṭhanḍa* (cl. 9, log).

It must be pointed out, however, that the correspondence between the augmentative prefix of Tsonga and the prefixes of class 5 in Venda and Tswha is only phonological and not structural. The transformed prefixes completely supplant the regular prefixes of class 5 in Venda and Tswha, i.e. class 5 remains class 5 in spite of the phonological change of its prefix. Since the augmentative class and class 5 occur as distinct classes in Tsonga it seems that there can be no ground for the theory that the augmentative prefix is a transformed variant of the prefix of class 5. Apart from this, Ronga and Tswha do not seem to use class 5 with an augmentative significance so that there seems to be no material in class 5 in this group of languages from which an augmentative class can grow. [2]

The fifth theory is based on our phonological analysis of the preceding section. It was shown that the phoneme *ɟ* is most probably the result of a fusion of the *l* and *i* phonemes before a vowel. This implies that the prefix *ɟi–* consisted originally of three phonemes, *viz.* *l*, *i* and *i*. These phonemes can be grouped into two syllables: *li* and *i*. The first syllable is represented phonetically by the sequence *ri*.

The first element can be identified as the prefix of class 5 and the second element as the prefix of class 21. This implies that the sequence B. *ɣî* appears as *i* in the prefix of class 21 in Tsonga (cf. *mɛnɔ* < *ma-inɔ* < B. *ma-ɣîno* and *jiβa* < B. *ɣîva*), and not as the regular or more usual sequence *ti* (cf. *tiɬɔ* < B. *ɣîko*, *tinɔ* < B. *ɣîno*, etc.) The strength of this argument lies in the act that class 21 is incorporated into class 5 in most of those languages in which it occurs (cf. section H.) It may be held that the juxtaposition of the two prefixes resulted in a fusion into a new prefix in the case of Tsonga, and that concords were introduced to agree with it once it was established. The implication of this theory is, of course, that the prefix of class 5 is retained in the fusion, whereas it does not normally appear with polysyllabic nouns of class 5 in other cases.

It is clear that none of the theories discussed above provides a completely satisfactory explanation for the etymology of the Tsonga augmentative class. The last theory seems, however, to be the least open to theoretical objections and may therefore be accepted until further data on comparative Bantu linguistics and on Tsonga and its dialectal variations throw new light on the problem.

[1] This form does occur, but only in fixed formulae such as *ribjɛ* (stone) which have to be regarded as monomorphemic.

[2] It is interesting to observe that Tswha can actually have no augmentative class which corresponds phonologically to that of Tsonga, since such a class would be phonologically equivalent to class 5. Even if there were such a class, it would have been part and parcel of class 5. The same seems to apply to Ronga, where the prefix of class 5, *ḍi–*, corresponds to Tsonga *ɟi–*. Cf. e.g. Ronga: *ḍa* (eat), Tsonga *ɟa*.

K. Etymology of Augmentative Plurals

The plural forms in which *ma–* precedes *ji–* or is substituted for it need no explanation since they are formed with mechanisms which are frequently used in Tsonga. The use of the morpheme *zi–* in the alternative forms where *mazi–* is substituted for *ji–* calls for an explanation, however. The phoneme *z* occurring in this morpheme appears very rarely in Tsonga and may be regarded as an acquisition from other Bantu languages (cf. Van Warmelo, 1927, p. 36).

The only explanation that can be offered for the appearance of this morpheme in Tsonga is that it is the prefix of class 21 of Shona which has been incorporated into Tsonga in the cases of some plurals. According to Louw (1913) and Marconnès (1931) augmentative nouns can be formed in Shona by prefixing *zi–* to nouns or noun stems.[1] The plurals of these augmentatives are formed by preprefixation of *ma–* to *zi–*. Cf. the following examples taken from the above-mentioned works and that of Biehler:

ɲɔka (snake) < *ziɲɔka* (big snake), pl. *maziɲɔka*
ɓaŋga (knife) < *ziɓaŋga* (big knife), pl. *mazipaŋga*
ŋɔmbɛ (beast) < *ziŋɔmbɛ* (big ox), pl. *maziŋɔmbɛ*
βaŋga (gash) < *ziβaŋga* (big wound), pl. *maziβaŋga*

It seems fairly certain that the *mazi–* appearing in the augmentative plurals of Shona served as model for its Tsonga counterparts.

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[1] It is not clear why Van Warmelo gives the form *zi–* (*zi–*) (1927, p. 58), as neither Louw nor Biehler, whom he quotes, writes it as such.

THREE BUSHMAN LANGUAGES

L. F. MAINGARD *

SYNOPSIS

The three Bushman languages are dʒu|ʔõã:si (Northern Group, a dialect of !khũ, partly in South-West Africa and partly in the Bechuanaland Protectorate), ||ganakwe (Central Group, Bechuanaland Protectorate) and !kɔ̃: (Southern Group, Bechuanaland Protectorate). Recordings of these three languages, on which the present study is based, were made during the Peabody Museum Harvard Smithsonian Institution Kalahari Expedition (1955).[1] In this first instalment dʒu|ʔõã:si and ||ganakwe are critically examined. !kɔ̃: will form a second instalment, to be published at a later date.

Notes on the phonology of dʒu|ʔõã:si and a detailed exposition of its morphology, together with supporting texts, reveal the instability of its vocalic and consonantal system, characterized by extensive fluctuations, within certain limits, and the extreme simplicity of its grammatical structure, of which the existence of the "double verb", the wide range of juxtapositional constructions, and the absence of tense formatives, among others, are features.

The shorter study on ||ganakwe follows, in which a very important question is raised. It is the relationship – phonological, morphological and lexical – of the Central Group of Bushman languages to Hottentot and more especially to the Korana dialect of Hottentot. A preliminary conclusion is arrived at that those languages must have had a common origin in pre-historic times.

In 1955 I received an invitation to join the "Peabody Museum Harvard – Smithsonian Institution Kalahari Expedition", under the leadership of Mr. Lawrence K. Marshall, who had been for long periods in the Kalahari and had acquired an unrivalled knowledge of the Ghanzi area and more especially of the Gautsha district, the home of the *dʒu|ʔõã:si* people. My particular province was, as a member of the expedition, to direct the sound recordings of any Bushman languages we might come across. I accepted the invitation willingly and I am very grateful to Dr. J. O. Brew, Director of the Peabody Museum, Harvard, and to Mr. Marshall for having placed all the facilities of the expedition at my disposal, including a most up-to-date recording machine and the expert guidance of Mr. Marshall in these matters.

Thus it is that we started from Windhoek at the end of April and reached, via Gobabis, our first camp in the Kalahari at Jakhals Puts, a farm some 25 miles west of Ghanzi, where the Ramsden brothers provided us with the opportunity of our first Bushman recording. There I worked with informants of the *dʒu|ʔõã:si* group.

* Prof. L. F. Maingard, former Professor of French and Romance Studies in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, has for many years been interested in the Bushman and Hottentot languages, and has published numerous papers on them.

[1] I am indebted to the National Council for Social Research for the award of a Senior Bursary to enable me to work up the 1955 material and to the Peabody Museum Harvard for permission to publish it and to use the recordings made by the Marshall group of investigators at Gautsha in 1953. I must also record my thanks to the University of the Witwatersrand for financial assistance to publish my work.

Our next camp was at Uitkoms, another farm 38 miles east of Ghanzi, where we took recordings of the *//ganakwe* dialect on the 6th of May.

From Uitkoms we travelled, once more through Ghanzi, in a southerly direction for 50 odd miles to the Okwa River, which we reached on the 12th of May. We encamped, a little way from the river, on its north bank, for a fortnight. It was my first experience of the *!kɔ̃:* people and their language. Then to Takatshuane and Baruchwe. At that last place a small party of *!kɔ̃:* (sixteen in all) had built their temporary shelters in the neighbourhood of the *tsama*, the water melon of the desert. More language work was done with them. No further recordings were taken after Baruchwe, which we left on the 30th of May.

Still proceeding south to Lehututu, a large BaKgalagadi town, in the centre of the Kalahari, we made for Tsane, and thence we turned east towards Molepolole, the capital of the Bakwena tribe, over a long stretch of approximately 300 miles. On the way, we passed through Kang and Dutlhwe, two Bakgalagadi villages, where I was able to conduct some rapid tests of the Bushman language spoken in the neighbourhood. It again proved to be *!kɔ̃:*.

No more Bushmen were encountered after this. The last camp of the expedition was about 10 miles west of Molepolole, where I left to return to Johannesburg.

* * *

I have referred in the title to three Bushman languages. Indeed *dʒu|ʔõã:si*, *//ganakwe* and *!kɔ̃:* belong to three different types of Bushman, the first to the Northern Group, the second to the Central Group and the last to the Southern Group. The Bushman speaking these languages do not understand each other. In fact their several languages are as far apart from each other as Spanish from French or French from German. When travelling in the Kalahari in search of Bushmen for linguistic purposes, the one great difficulty is to pass from one language to another and to find adequate interpreters. I was fortunate in having had two months' coaching in *dʒu|ʔõã:si* in Johannesburg (January-February 1955), when translating the material collected by the Marshalls in Gautsha and getting myself familiar with the language. So it went well at Jakkals Puts, where I had, besides, an interpreter who was fluent in *dʒu|ʔõã:si*. But when it came to *!kɔ̃:*, none of the investigators knew anything about it. One of the party of Natives attached to the expedition was a *!kɔ̃:*, but his gifts as an interpreter were very limited and he had been living away from his people for a considerable time in another part of the Kalahari. At first we had quite a number of difficulties, but time, patience and the relative simplicity of the Bushman grammatical structure enabled us to surmount them.

When among the farmers at Ghanzi, you hear them talk about "tame" Bushmen and "wild" Bushmen. Who are they? Why this distinction? The "tame" Bushman is the one who has come down to work at the farm for the *|hũ*, "the white man". He has lost a good deal of his early way of life. He may hunt occasionally, but the vast herds of game, in their hundreds, have disappeared. And the white man's game laws have disastrously interfered with this means of his former livelihood. In the meantime, the Bushman tends his master's cattle in return for some mealie meal and a small wage, but he has learnt some of the white man's ways and he is quite co-operative in front of the microphone, answering questions.

The "wild" Bushmen are those who do not live in such close contact with civilized man. The less accessible districts, such as Gautsha or the *!kɔ̃:* country between Okwa and Lehututu, are their haunts. They are still the hunters and collectors of food. They do not wear European clothes, but their traditional karosses. How does that affect the linguist? It is remarkable that the Western dialect of the *!khũ*, who live near the Nama and the Nama-speaking *hei|kum* Bushman, contains a number of Nama words. So presumably the dialects of these more remote Bushman groups would be purer and better

Tsumeb.

!KHŨ

Grootfontein.

/Gautsha.

DZU/?ǂOA:SI

Okavango Swamps

/Gam.

Lake Ngami.

!KHŨ

Eastern Dialect.

BECHUANALAND – PROTECTORATE.

SOUTH-WEST-AFRICA.

Uitkoms.

// GANAKWE

Ghanzi.

Jakhals Puts.

Okwa.

Gobabis.

!KŨ:

Baruchwe.

Kang.

!KŨ:

Lehututu.

Dutlhwe.

Tshane.

Molepolole.

Route across the Kalahari of the Peabody, Harvard Smithsonian Institution, Kalahari Expedition, May – June 1955.

Capital letters denote linguistic Groups.

LFM.

preserved. But the real difficulty, one of a very different sort, awaits the linguist. The "wild" Bushman, when placed before the microphone, becomes quite nervous of this new-fangled invention. He stutters and gets into a muddle. Some never get over it. Others take some time to get used to it, and do finally conquer their nervousness. But precious time has been lost for the investigator who cannot prolong his stay in the Kalahari and the harvest of recordings is all the poorer.

THE DZU|ʔOA:SI DIALECT OF THE !KHŨ LINGUISTIC GROUP

The *!khũ* linguistic group extends over a vast area, stretching from Grootfontein and Tsumeb in South-West Africa to just beyond the 21° parallel East from Greenwich, which forms the frontier between South-West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

I divide this linguistic area into a Western and an Eastern dialect, for there are marked differences in phonology and morphology between them.

The Western *!khũ* has been described by Vedder and Doke. There also exists a vocabulary by Wilhelm and a series of texts collected by Dr. W. H. I. Bleek and Dr. L. Lloyd. For the Eastern dialect there is a short and very unsatisfactory list of words recorded by Werner at Dobe in the Kaukauveld (1906) and a short sketch of Auen by Miss D. F. Bleek[1]. A fuller exposition remains to be made.

Passarge, the German geologist, who travelled through these frontier regions in 1897 and 1898, places at *|gam* the dividing line between the so-called Auen and the *dʒu|ʔõã:si* group living at *|gautʃa*. There is, however, no essential divergence between them linguistically. He calls the *|gautʃa* people *Ssu‡gnassi*. I have no doubt in my mind that it is a faulty rendering of *(d)ʒu|ʔõã:si*, as they call themselves, recognizing at the same time that they belong to the *!khũ* family. I shall, therefore, call their dialect *dʒu|ʔõã:si* or the Eastern dialect, in which I include Auen for reasons just given.

When I was at Jakhals Puts, I asked my informants what their tribe was. They answered *Makoko*.[2] We must not be misled by this appellation. It is really a Tswana (Tawana) word, incorporating the prefix *ma* and *koko*, which is a deformation of *Kaukau* of the official maps (Maps of the Surveyor General, Windhoek, 1925 and 1936). It is also the name current among the local farmers. But when further questioned, the informants said that they were *dʒu|ʔõã:si*.

The present study is based on my own knowledge of the dialect, the recordings made by the Marshall Expedition (1953) at *|gautʃa* and the recordings taken during the 1955 Peabody Museum Harvard-Smithsonian Institution Kalahari Expedition.

PHONOLOGY

A detailed description of *!khũ* phonetics has been made by Doke (*Bantu Studies*, Vol. II., pp. 129–65). As this is available and as I am in general agreement with his findings, I shall confine myself to recording my observations, when they bring something new or when they vary from his.

[1] Vedder, H. *Zeitschrift für Kolonial Sprachen*, Band I (1910), pp. 5–24 and 106–17. Doke, C. M. *Bantu Studies*, Vol. II (1926), pp. 129–65. Wilhelm, J. H. *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen*, Bd. xii (1921–22), Bleek, W. H. I. and Lloyd, L. *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911, pp. 404–55. Bleek, D. F. *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen*, Bd. xxv, (1935), pp. 262–83. Werner, H. *Zeitschrift für Anthropologie*, Bd. xxxviii (1906), pp. 230–56. Bleek, D. F. *The Naron*, Cambridge, 1928, pp. 50 and 60–4.

[2] Passarge S. *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, Berlin, 1907, p. 22: "Makaukau nennen aber die Batauana die Aukwe und dieser Name hat sie so allgemein bei die Buren und Kaffern eingebürgert, dass er noch bereits den Buschmännern geläufig geworden ist."

VOWELS

The most outstanding feature of the vocalic system of the Eastern dialect is the existence of "sound areas", within which pairs of phonemes having a fairly close tongue position to each other seem to move freely and are inter-changeable. These fluctuations occur not only in the speech of one individual speaker as against another, but may and do occur in the speech of the same individual speaker at different times, within the limits of the particular "sound area".

In the following table, under "sound areas", are shown pairs of interchangeable phonemes and on the right the examples are arranged also in pairs of words. It is hoped that this method of presentation will make this portion of the vocalic system more readily intelligible than the orthodox chart of cardinal vowels used as a basis of comparison. The symbols used here are those of the International Phonetic Alphabet (1945), with modifications, when necessary, and with the exception of the symbols for clicks.

"Sound areas"		Examples
i–e.	*|gi* – *|ge* (to go) *ge:* – *gi:* (to sing) *tʃʔe* – *tʃʔi* (thing)	*di* – *de* (female) *!kwi* – *!kwe* (rope)
e – *ɛ*	*ʃe:* – *ʃɛ:* (to return) *se* – *sɛ* (to see)	*e!ka* – *ɛ!ka* (we)
a – *ə*	*|kam* – *|kəm* (sun) *kali* – *kəli* (to look after)	*tam* – *təm* (to taste) *ǂŋam* – *ǂŋəm* (to scrape)
o – *ɔ*	*tsʔo* – *tsʔɔ* (thong) *!ko* - *!kɔ* (brother)	*ʒo:* – *ʒɔ:* (black)
u – *o*	*!ku: !ku:* – *!ko: !ko:* (knife) *|hulu* – *|kolo* (edible root)	*du* – *do* (to do) *kuma* – *koma* (early)

The low open vowel *a* remains constant, e.g. *ba:* (father), *tai* (mother), *|ʔa* (to give), *!ŋa* (eland).
The following series of variants should be noted:

|ŋe: – *|ŋe*[1] – *ŋei* – *|ŋi:* (head) *!ŋ* – *!ŋi* (inside)
||ŋa – *||ŋae* – *||ŋe* (to say) *|ŋ* – *|ŋi* (to sit)
!kale and *!kule* (to cut up)

Note: In the second member of the first series given above, a faint [1] (written above the line) is heard.

Diphthongs

(a) Falling diphthongs:

ei. *ǂgẽi* (long), *||kei* (to hold), *!keiŋ* (branch), *||eixa* (chief),
ai. *kxʔai* (to possess), *|kxʼai* (ill), *!gai* (puffadder), *||ʔai* (grass).
au. *tsʔau* (tooth), *|kxʔau* (ugly), *ŋǂhau* (to walk), *!kau* (dry), *!gau* (hand), *!ŋau* (bow).
ou. *tʃʔou* (to roast), *!gou* (to watch), *!ʔou* (to shout).

(b) Rising diphthongs:

wi. *okxʔwi* (to speak), *|hwi* (*|hui*) (to hear), *!kwi* (*!koe*) (rope), *khwi* (pain).
wa. *twa* [*toa*] (that), *hwa* [*hoa*] (all), *!kwa* (to say), *kxʔwa* (alive).
The words in brackets are variant pronunciations. In rapid speech *wi* and *wa* are most frequently heard.

When *–a* is appended to a word, verb, noun or pronoun, ending in *–u*, as in *gu + a > guwa* (to take); *|u: + a > |u:wa* (to put in) *w* is properly a glide sound.

In slow speech *a* is always pronounced quite separately from the word to which it is appended, e.g. *gu a*, *|u : a*.

Similarly, when *a* is appended to words ending in *–e* or *i*, a *j* is heard, e.g. *geja < ge + a* (to stay), *||keja < ||ke + a* (to hold).

For an explanation of the function of *a*, see Morphology – Verbs.

Nasalization of vowels

This is another feature of Bushman phonetics. Vowels can be nasalized. It may happen that the same vowel pronounced at different times can be nasalized or not. Thus:

!ko and *!kõ* (brother), *tʃ?u* and *tʃ?ũ* (hut), *!kum* and *!kũm* (leg), *!ŋa* and *!ŋã* (eland)

Pharyngal colouring of vowels

A number of words with a pharyngal colouring have been recorded, thus:

*tõ** (ashes), *dẽ*ŋsi* (buttocks), *dauŋ*gi* (donkey), *ʒu*ma*, (hoofless animals), *|ŋo*m* (springhare), *||ko*m* (to chop), *!gã** (red)

It is sometimes difficult to hear this pharyngal colouring distinctly. It has not been possible to ascertain the reason for these variations in strength.

One of the interesting words in this respect, *!gã*, is not normally pharyngal. It seems that in a position of emphasis pharyngalization takes place, as in one of the Bushman tales about the marking of animals, the despised hyaena is branded with a very hot iron described as *!gã** (red hot) uttered with a very energetic pharyngal action. This also applies to *ʒu*ma*, a class of animals contemptible in the eyes of the Bushman (hyaenas, and jackals). But no definite conclusion can be arrived at until a large number of examples have been collected and examined in their proper context.

CONSONANTS

Chart of emitted *!khũ* consonants (Eastern dialect):

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Prepalatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	*b*	*t d*			*k kh g*	*ʔ*
Nasal	*m*	*n*		*ɲ*	*ŋ*	
Fricative	*β*	*s z*		*ʃ ʒ*	*x*	*h*
Flapped			*ɻ*			
Affricate		*ts?*		*tʃ? dʒ*	*kx?*	
Semi-Vowels	*w*			*j*		

1. No voiced glottal fricative *ɦ* was heard.
2. The voiced alveolar plosive *d* is sometimes slightly devoiced and can easily be taken for its voiceless counterpart *t*, e.g. *dã* and *tã* (to conquer).
3. Similarly the voiced velar plosive *g* and its voiceless counterpart *k* can be confused, when *g* is devoiced. The *g* phoneme is of rare occurrence.
4. The nasals *m* and *ŋ* can have syllable value, e.g. *ʔm:* (to eat), *!ŋ* (inside) *|ŋ* (to sit).

   ŋ often appears with syllabic value before a click or other consonant, initially or in the body of a word, e.g. *ŋǂhau* (to walk). Before *k* in the sentence *|ge u: ŋka tʃ?a:* (go away and sleep)

* This symbol, an asterisk, indicates that the preceding vowel is pharyngalized.

and in the second member of following pairs: *!hã* and *ŋ!hã* (to know); *|hwi* and *ŋ|hwi* (only); *tʃʔi ||ha* and *tʃʔiŋ||ha* (to shoot).

In *kwẽŋce*, a variant of *kwece* (just now), *ŋ* may be homorganic.

5. The alveolar fricative *s* seems, with some speakers, to be formed with the tongue slightly more backwards than the English phoneme *s* in *so*, with the result that the *s* is inclined to slip into the prepalatal fricative *ʃ*. This phenomenon has been observed in Korana, in certain positions, by myself and Beach (*Phonetics of the Hottentot Language*, Cambridge, 1938, p. 221), independently of each other.

   A further result is that the pair *tsʔ* and *tʃʔ* are so close to each other that they frequently become hardly distinguishable from each other.
6. As in the Western dialect, there is no trilled *r*.
7. The combination of ejective prepalatal affricate + velar fricative occurs only in a few words, e.g. *tʃʔxam* (a Bushman greeting), *tʃʔxa:ni* (to dance), *tʃʔxe* (to make gestures), *tʃʔxaɻ da* (to warm one's hands at the fire-side). The first two words are also heard as *tsʔam* and *tʃʔa:ni*.

   The combination *t* + *x* is heard only in *txa* (to hit the mark), the velar fricative being pronounced with a particularly strong scrape.
8. The two palatal plosives *c* and *ɟ* were heard only in *kwece* (just now) and in *ɟaɻasi* (leaves). They have been omitted from the chart as being non significant.

CLICK CONSONANTS

Chart of *!khũ* click consonants (Eastern dialect):

	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-Alveolar	Lateral
1	*|k*	*ǂk*	*!k*	*||k*
2	*|kh*	*ǂkh*	*!kh*	*||kh*
3	*|g*	*ǂg*	*!g*	*||g*
4	*|ʔ*	*ǂʔ*	*!ʔ*	*||ʔ*
5	*|ŋ*	*ǂŋ*	*!ŋ*	*||ŋ*
6	*|kx*	*ǂkx*	*!kx*	*||kx*
7	*|kxʔ*	*ǂkxʔ*	*!kxʔ*	*||kxʔ*
8	*|h*	*ǂh*	*!h*	*||h*

A. It is unnecessary to explain the releases any further. The symbols clearly show their phonetic values.

B. The retroflex click of the Western dialect as described by Doke was not found in the Eastern dialect. The interpreter, who was fluent in *dʒu|ʔoa:si*, having spoken it from his boyhood, did not know it and flatly denied that it belonged to the Eastern dialect.

A test was carried out, based on 14 words beginning with the retroflex click of the Western dialect, taken from Doke's vocabulary. These were pronounced by my informants as follows: 12 with the palato-alveolar click, e.g. *!ka*, (meat), *!ka:* (to run), *!kãĩŋ* (neck), *!koma* (small), *!kum* (leg), *!kulu* (quiver), *!kwi* (hair, feather), *!gãĩ* (puffadder), *!go* (male), *!goe* (gemsbok), *!gou* (hand), *!gu:* (water). Two were pronounced with the alveolar click, e.g. *ǂki* (dead) and *ǂkwi* (sister).

C. Fluctuations are found in the click releases as with the other phonemes. Examples:

|ko -- *|ʔo* – *|ho* (face)	*|kum* – *|ʔum* (to cut)
|kwa – *|kxʔwa* – *|hwa* (alive)	*ǂha* – *ǂka* (arm)
|hulu – *|kolo* (edible root)	*ǂkai* – *ǂkxʔai* (springbok)
!gẽĩ – *!hẽĩ* (lion)	*‖kxa* – *‖kxʔa* (edible fruit)

TONE

Tone is an essential element of all Bushman languages. It gives its musical quality to the sounds of the language.

They may have a semantic significance in distinguishing words phonetically alike. This function does not apply in every case.

Five tones are heard in the Eastern dialect: the high-level, the mid-level, the low-level, the rising and the falling tones.

High-level (symbol: ¯ above the line, before the syllable):

tai¯ (mother), *¯tsʔi* (mouth), *¯tʃʔũ* (hut), *¯ge:* (to sing)

Mid-level (symbol: none, not marked):

ku: (milk), *kwe:ʃa* (perhaps), *!ŋu:* (to stand), *!gãĩ* (puffadder)

Low-level (symbol _ below the line, before the syllable):

_*!ko* (brother), _ *!ga* (bitter)

The rising tone (symbol ´ before the syllable):

okxʔ´wi (to speak); *´ʒu:* (person); *´!kãŋ* (tree); *´!kwi* (rope)

The falling tone (symbol ` before the syllable);

`we:* (come here); *`‖ʔẽ (to tie); *`|ge* (to go); *`!ka* (to run); *`‖ʔoe* (to be tired)

Words in which tone has semantic significance:

‖ŋa (to cease) and *¯‖ŋa* (to say) *¯!ŋum* (to cook) and _*!ŋum* (to fly past)
tsʔi (to come) and *¯tsʔi* (nuts) *¯tʃʔa* (to hear) and *tʃʔa* (to pour)
tsʔou (tooth) and *¯ tsʔou* (woman) *!kum* (leg) and _*!kum* (leopard)

Words phonetically and tonetically similar having different meanings:

tsʔi meaning (mouth) and (nuts)
tʃʔi meaning (thing) and (wet)
tsʔo meaning (hartebeest) and (thong)

It is clear that it is not an inherent and necessary function of tone to differentiate between homonyms. Beside tone, Bushman has other means of doing so, e.g. by nasalization of vowels as in *!ga* (rain) and *!gã* (red) and by vowel-lengthening as in *gu* (to take) and *gu:* (to dig).

Sentence Tone

As a rule the sentence tone is pitched high on the last word in the sentence. This is quite independent of the word tone, which may be obscured in the process, as also may happen to other words in the sentence. Thus *a ku ho*: *mi* (you see me) becomes in rapid speech *au ho mi*:, with tone pattern: level-low-level-high, pitch on *mi*:, which is also lengthened.

Here are a few other sentences, showing different types of sentence tones:

1. *si ku ho m!ka – ho mi*: (they see us). Tone pattern: high-low-level-high. *ho mi*:, a variant of *ho m!ka*, was pronounced, after a pause, in a very low tone.
2. *ka mi e ||ʔoe, e ku |ge*: (when I am tired, I go), *|ge*: pitched very high.
3. *o a*: *ka* (work it). Here the main tone is on *a*:, high pitch, which is an enclitic, which as a rule is slurred over, *a*, the verb, losing its tone.
4. *!kalea*, *!ka:lea*, *!ka:si* (cut it up, cut it up, the meat). Tone pattern: level-low-high pitch-low, gliding to very low on the last two syllables.
5. *toasi* (that is all), tone pattern: word ending an enumeration, the voice is dropped to a very low tone.
6. *kanaka*, *kanaka*, *ǂʔoloka* (twist it, twist, string it). Tone pattern: level on *kanaka*, a little higher on the second *kanaka*, high pitch on the first syllable of *ǂʔoloka*, with a suggestion of stress on *ǂʔoloka*.
7. *gumka*, *gumka*, *||kama* (soften it, soften it, wear). Tone pattern identical with the tones of sentence No. 6.
8. *ʒu ko a !ku*: – *!goe* (people call its name *!goe*). Tone pattern: high-level-level-high-pause-high.
9. *mi |kwa kəli peli*, (I do not look after goats). Tone pattern : level-level-high-high, the first syllables of the last two words being slurred over. The whole sentence thus acquires a jerky effect.

MORPHOLOGY

A broad classification into (1) Nouns (including Pronouns), i.e. names of living beings and inanimate objects, and (ii) Verbs, i.e. names of actions and states, will be used in this section. To try and fit Bushman morphology into the framework of our "parts of speech" and the other classifications applying to our European languages is quite impossible. It certainly would not give a true picture of the Bushman way of speaking, but would rather distort it beyond recognition. It is very often difficult to draw a sharp line of demarcation between verbs, nouns and other "parts of speech". It seems that the Bushman speaker finds a better guide, in order to make himself understood and to understand others, in the order of words in the sentence and in the context generally.

NOUNS

1. *Gender*

dʒu|ʔõã:si does not use grammatical gender. When it is necessary to indicate sex, the Bushman practice is one which is peculiar to their language. The words *!go* (male) and *di* (female) are appended to the noun.

Examples:

!goe !go (the gemsbok is male) – *!goe di* (the gemsbok is female)
|goe !go (the zebra is male) – *|goe di* (the zebra is female)

|hũ (a white person) – *|hũ di* (a white woman)
Nharu (a Naron) – *Nharu di* (a Naron Woman)

Extension of the use of *!go* and *di*:

tʃ?ai !go (a dance where only men take part)
dom di (female voice, used by Bushwomen when the men dance; *falsetto* voice)
!ga !kwisi di (female clouds, producing rain)
ǂŋwa di (stories about women)
ǂha !go (the male arm, the right) – *ǂha di* (the female arm, the left)

But *!go* and *di* can be used independently, as in the following:

ka !gosi kwala !gu: (the males have no water)
ka di |ne te kx?ai !gu: (the females only have water)

These last sentences show that the two words have a living force apart from their function as indicated in the first group of sentences. They are very far from being suffixes or inflexions.

2. *Number*

Examples:

||ko (a woman's apron) – *||kosi* (woman's aprons)
!ŋum (a stone) – *!ŋumsi* (stones)

The *–si* at the end of the word is not used regularly to indicate plurality. There are many instances in our texts of plurals without it, e.g. *gumi* (cows or cow), *gu*: (sheep), *pəli* (goat or goats), *|kx?a* (bead or beads), *|go* (ostrich egg shell beads). Also in the following sentences:

!ga !kwi sa toa (cloud those, i.e. those clouds)
gumka ʒu !gaosi, *ʒu !gao* (soften it with hands), the word *!gao*, equally with *!gaosi*, meaning the two hands, the Bushman showing both in each case.

si is nothing but the third person plural of the personal pronoun. Compare its use in such phrases as *||na:si* (leave them alone) < *|na*: + *si* and *ma:si* (carry them on the back) < *ma*: + *si*.

Special use of *si* with nouns:

–si has sometimes a collective value or denotes large quantities, e.g.

!ka (meat) – *!kasi* (large portion of meat)
!kãŋ (a tree) – *!kãsi* (trees in general)
!kãŋasi (the bush); *ts?aosi* (all the teeth); *!kwisi* (the hair)
dẽŋsi and *!gumsi* (the buttocks), with a dual connotation (?)

3. *Juxtaposition of nouns* (*noun* + *noun*) *and its significance*

Juxtaposition links possessor and possessed, the possessor coming first:

dʒu tʃ?i (the man's arrow) – *tʃ?i|ko* (arrow head)

Similarly, to indicate the material out of which an object is made or the nature of the thing or person spoken about, e.g.

!ka ǂŋwa (an animal story); *|gwi !ka* (an animal of the forest)

Juxtaposition, noun + noun, having the relation of possessor and thing possessed, with a prepositional value. This is especially common with parts of the body.

|ko (face) – *tʃ?ũ |ko* (hut face; *in* front of the hut; at home)
!kx?a (heart) – *|gwi !kx?a* (in the middle of the forest); *m!ka ku !ŋwa !gu*: *!kx?a* (we throw it water heart, i.e. into the water)

!ŋ (belly) – *tʃ?ũ !ŋ* (hut belly, i.e. inside the hut), *kx?oa !ŋ* (pot belly, i.e. in the pot)
!ko (back) – *!gwi !ko* (antheap back, i.e. behind the antheap)
dẽŋ (buttock) – *|?um |kx?ei he dẽŋ* (baobab foot this under, i.e. at the foot of the baobab)
ts?i (mouth) – *ʃu*: *|kam ts?i* (rest sun mouth, rest in the sun)

4. *Numbers*

There are no true Bushman words for numbers after two. The Bushman has no need for such abstract conceptions in his simple material life. We therefore have only:

|ŋe, |ŋei (one), e.g. *ʒu |ŋei* (one man)
ts?a (two), e.g. *ts?ousi ts?a* (two women), *m ts?a* (we two)

!ŋeni (three) is a Nama word. Several passages in our texts will give an idea of the Bushman's difficulties in trying to count. Up to *ts?a* he goes on smoothly. At *!ŋeni* he has a good deal of hesitation. After that he flounders and has resort to *ǂkhai* (many) and, when pressed, he proceeds to count with his fingers and generally gives the wrong answer.

5. *Pronouns*

Personal Pronouns:

Singular	*Plural*
1. *mi, m*	*e!ka, m!ka, m*
2. *a, a?a*	*i!ka, i*
3. *ha, a, ka*	*si!ka, si, ia, hi, hia, hisi*

(a) In rapid speech the 3rd person singular *ha* is heard as *a*, being indistinguishable from *a* the 2nd person singular.
(b) *ka* means (it), and refers usually to inanimate objects. It can also be used to introduce sentences.
(c) *ia, hia, hisi* are objective forms. For *–a* see under verbs.
(d) The short forms of the personal pronoun are commonly preferred to the longer ones.
(e) *|?ẽ* is used as a reflexive after the short forms, e.g. *m |?ẽ* (I myself).
(f) *kwe* is a reciprocal with pronouns, Examples:

1. *mi ku ho*: *a* (I see you)
2. *a ku ho*: *mi* (you see me)
3. *a ku ho*: *a* (he sees you)
4. *a ku ho*: *mi* (she sees me)
5. *si!ka !kũ*: *mi* (they kill me)
6. *m!ka ho*: *ia* (we see them)
7. *e!ka |ge ʃu*: (we go and sleep)
8. *mi!ka |ge ǂŋwa* (we go and tell stories)
9. *mi ||kama Mau* (I come from Maun)
10. *ʒu ǂŋwe*: *ka* (one scrapes it)
11. *i!ka o a*: *ka* (you make it)
12. *si ma*: *ka* (they carry it)

To indicate the possessive, the same pronouns are used (short forms only), e.g. *m ba*: (my father), *m tai* (my mother), *ha ?msi* (his food), *si tʃ?isi* (their arrows).

Demonstrative pronouns:

toa (that), *sa toa* (those)
e, he, he ts?e (these, this)

Indefinite pronouns:

dʒu, in rapid speech *zu*, shortened to *z* in *zna* < *dʒu* + *na* (person). It is used as in French *on* and German *man*. It can also be substituted for the first person singular of the personal pronoun.

ŋ |hwi (someone, somewhere), with the negative *|kwa* (nothing, nowhere).
tʃ?i, tʃ?e (a thing, something), with the negative *|kwa* (nothing).

As in the case of the personal pronoun, *dʒu* and *tʃ?i* can be followed by *a* and coalesce with it, e.g. *dʒua, dʒwa* and *tʃ?ia* < *tʃ?i* + *a*.

Interrogative pronouns:

a is found as an interrogative particle, preceding *dʒu* and *tʃ?i*, e.g. *a dʒu* (who).
ba, as an interrogative particle, follows the pronoun, e.g. *dzu ba* (who)
Similarly *le*, e.g. *dzu ele*, (who), *kole* (where, when), *a ||ga kole* (where did you spend the night ?).
Further examples: *a tʃ?e, o a tʃ?e* (which, what), *tʃ?aku o a tʃ?e* (what is *tʃ?aku?*).
|kwa with *ba* forms a negative question, e.g. *|kwa o a tʃ?e ce ba* (no, is it thus ?).

THE VERB

A verb may denote a simple action or state or one which is modified by circumstances of time, place, manner, etc.

A Bushman, when asked how he spent the night, will answer: *ka ʃu*: *ka tʃ?a*: (lit. it lie down and sleep, i.e. I lay down and slept). It is worth while looking more closely into the literal translation. It will show how simply he expresses himself, completely ignoring the circumstance of time, which in this instance happens to be the past.

1. *Circumstance of time*

One of the most important modifications of the verbal action is its limitation by the time factor. In our European languages, we want to know whether a verb is in the present, the past or the future and for this purpose we have auxiliary verbs and a wealth of inflexions. The Bushman, on the other hand, is not interested in the time factor. His ideas of time are never precise. When asked at what time he will come, he will point to the course of the sun during the day, to the first half of the sky, if he means the forenoon, and to the second half, if he means the afternoon. So it is with his verbs. Only when he feels the necessity of referring to an action as completed or as still to come – and that feeling of necessity seldom arises in his mind – will he add *gwa* (last time) or *ŋ!ghwe* (next time).

Past action.

mi gwa ǂ?a ku |ge: (lit. I yesterday go, i.e. I went yesterday)
gwa ǂ?a !ga ʃue (lit. yesterday rain fall, i.e. rain fell yesterday)
gwa a ku |?uwa m hauto !ŋ (last time he put me into the motor-car)
ka mi ɲtʃ?e:ma kome e !koma kwe, mi ho: gumi (lit. I so small, I see cattle, i.e. when I was so high, I saw cattle)

Future action.

te |gu ku |ŋi, m !ɲo ku ts?i (lit. and night sit, I to-morrow go, i.e. as it is now night, I shall go to-morrow)
kuma !ɲo a ge: *|?a dʒu*: (lit. to-morrow morning he sing for the people, i.e. he will sing)
mi ku ŋ! ghwe ku no (lit. I do next time, i.e. I shall do it next time).

The word *ku*, which has been left untranslated, appears in those sentences without regard to past or future action. Indeed, it is as freely used for the present, e.g. *a ku ho*: *mi* (he sees me) and *mi*

||kama Mau (I come from Maun). We must not therefore be misled into believing that *ku* is a tense formative. It is rather used to indicate the coming of a verb. Yet it is often omitted in sentences like these: *mi |kwa kəli pəli*, (I do not look after goats) or *mi kxʔoa ka twa, mi ku !gama tʃʔũ*: (I work and finish, I go into the hut). In these sentences *ku* is to be found only in the last one, although they all refer to the present.

The non-existence of tense formatives and the resultant vagueness of the verbal construction make it a necessity to rely on the context. This is well illustrated in a sentence like *mi ||ŋa hoa* (I say all), quoted from Text No. VI. Winding up a list of veld *kos* (vegetable foods), it seems at first to mean: "I have said all", referring to what has gone before. The speaker, however, knowing that the list is incomplete, immediately proceeds to give a fuller one and prefaces it with *mi ||na hoa*, "I shall say all".

2. *Circumstance of place*

There is in *dʒu|ʔõã:si* a group of verbs, which, without any suffixes or prefixes, contain within themselves notions of place:

!kwana (to reside at) e.g. *mi ku !kwana ka* (I reside it, i.e. there)
||kama (to come from), e.g. *mi ||kama Mau* (I come from Maun)
|ʔu:, *|ʔuwa* (to put in), e.g. *|ʔuwa !ka kxʔo* (put the meat into the pot)
||kũŋ (to put down), e.g. *ha ||kũŋ tʃʔi* (he puts his arrow down)
kalu (to come down), e.g. *kalu !kãŋ* (come down from the tree)
ǂʔa (to be in front), e.g. *|hũ ku ǂʔa mi* (the white man goes before me)
||kaba (to put on), e.g., *tsʔousi ||kaba !gwasi* (women put on shoes)
|ʔa (to give), e.g. *ha mi |ʔa ʃole* (he gives me tobacco)

3. *Double Verbs* (*or verbs in a series*)

Verbs in this position have extensive functions, corresponding to our adverbs, prepositions, participles, etc. One or more verbs thus modify the action expressed by the principal verb. This important morphological mechanism, existing in *ǂkhomani*, has already been the subject of a fuller discussion in my study on that dialect (*Bushmen of the Southern Kalahari*, 1937, pp. 247–51).

They are of the most frequent occurrence in narratives and long conversations.

gwa !ka: geja ǂkubutʃʔa, ta !ka: |ge: ka u ʒarakutʃʔa, e!ka !khei !ka ǂkana a !ku|na (lit. last time run stay *ǂkubutʃʔa* and run come come down *ʒarakutʃʔa*, we run cut across go up *!ku|na*, i.e. lastly we stayed at *ǂkubutʃʔa*, and after hurrying there, we came down to *ʒarakutʃʔa*; then still hurrying along, we cut across the country, going up to *!ku|na*)
e!ka gwa tsʔi ǂkhai geja ka twa o tsʔane (lit. we last came, arrived, stayed there *tsʔane*, i.e. we lastly came to *tsʔane*, after wandering about and stayed there)

The word-for-word translation gives a sufficiently clear insight into the functions of the verbs thus placed side by side.

Note also the interesting use of the double verb in the following examples:

ʃe: we: (lit: return come, i.e. come back!)
ʃe :du ka (lit: return do it, i.e. do it again)
ʃe: tʃʔi (one more drink).

4. *Qualifying functions of verbs*

A number of verbs, which we would classify as adjectives according to our standards of European grammar, are treated in *!khũ* as expressing an action or state. When a Bushman is asked to give the name of a colour, he never gives it in isolation, but in the form of a verb in a sentence:

"red" is *tʃʔa! ʔgã* (the thing is red)
"white" is *te a !kau* (and is white)
"black" is *ka ʒɔ:* (it is black)

Similarly:

tʃʔi sa ǂgẽĩ (the thing is long)
mi !ko te kwi (my back is sore)
mi ku |kxʔai (I am sick)

Here *ku* and *te* are verb "indicators". The use of these morphemes proves conclusively that the words they introduce are verbs.

The expression *ǁkãũ tsʔa* (to understand; lit. to be correct + to hear) is another example of these formations.

5. *The function of verbal repetition*

A very simple means of denoting continuous action is to repeat the verb twice or even three or four times.

gumka, gumka, ǁkama (lit. soften it, soften it, wear it, i.e. go on softening it)
kanaka, kanaka, ǂʔo ǂoka (twist it, twist it, string it)
dʒu a du du du ka (people do it and do it and do it, i.e. people go on doing it)
mi ǂkhai !gou !gou, !gou ka (I arrive and watch it and watch it and watch it, i.e., watching the dance)

6. *The copula o*

o is often found before a noun used predicatively. Thus in the enumeration of vegetable foods:

ŋa ka te o ǁkxʔa, te o |ʔum, te o ʃha:, (t) e o |hulu, te o !kwe, o ǁkama
(it is *ǁkxʔa*, and is *|ʔum*, and is *ʃha:*, and is *|hulu*, and is *!kwe*, is *ǁkama*)

or in this very idiomatic construction:

kwe:ʃa i!ka !kũ: tʃʔi o !gwe (perhaps you kill a thing, is gemsbok)
ka na !kũ:, o a !goe (and I kill – it is gemsbok, i.e. I kill a gemsbok)

7. *The word* a, *what is its function?*

It has been interpreted, for the Western dialect, as an auxiliary denoting continuous action and as an adverb formative. I find no such function for *a* in the Eastern dialect. The following examples will show that it is really a word with an indeterminate significance, acting as an enclitic, supporting the preceding word, which may be a verb, a noun or a pronoun, without adding anything to the meaning of the preceding word or having a meaning of its own.

(a) With verbs ending in *–e* or *–i*, the following series:

ge – ge a – geja (to stay) ǂ*ŋwe:* – ǂ*ŋwe a* – ǂ*ŋweja* (to scrape)
guni – gunja (to hunt) !*kwe:* – !*kweja* (to chase)
|*gi* – |*gia* – |*gija* (to go)

(b) With verbs ending in *–u*, the following series:
gu – gu a – guwa (to take) |ʔ*u:* – |ʔ*uwa* (to put in)
!*ŋu:* – !*ŋuwa* (to stand) *ŋ*ǂ*hau – ŋ*ǂ*hauwa* (to walk)
!*kau* – !*kauwa* (to dry)

(c) With the following nouns, the following series:
|*ŋo:* – |*ŋowa* (skin)
||*ŋo:* – ||*ŋowa* (place)

(d) With pronouns, the following series:
dʒu – dʒu a – dʒuwa (person; also used as 1st person singular, personal pronoun, I)
i: – *ia* – *ija* (them)
hi – hia (them)

The coalescence of *u* + *a* into *wa* and of *e* or *i* + *a* into *ja* has been explained elsewhere. It should be noted that in some of the series *a* exists independently and is pronounced as such, e.g. *ge a*; *dʒu a*. This absence of coalescence is common in slow speech.

Compare also *tʃʔŋ a* (to cry) and !*kũ a* (to kill).

8. *The function of na (variants |na and ŋa)*

This word appears in the form *na* in rapid speech < |*na*, which being slurred over, loses its click. The form *ŋa* is of rare occurrence.

For the Western dialect of !*khũ*, various functions have been ascribed to it, such as introducing an imperative or as being equivalent to the 1st person singular of the personal pronoun. These various functions cannot be substantiated for the Eastern dialect.

Many sentences in our texts begin with *nau*, translated by (a person). This is merely the contracted form, used in rapid speech, for the fuller form of slow speech, *dʒu na* (|*na*) *ku*, (a person + *na* + *ku*, the verb indicator). Thus *dʒu* + *na* + *ku* > *dʒu na u* (short form of *ku*) > *nau*, the subject pronoun *dʒu* being omitted, as is frequent in Bushman languages.

My informants stated that *na* "means nothing". This is fully supported by the following sentences:

1. *ka ŋa te o* ||*kxʔa* (it is almonds)
2. *tʃʔaku na oa* ||*ŋoa* (*tʃʔaku* is a place)
3. *ka na oa tʃʔiŋ*!ʔ*a* (it is a kaross)
4. *ka nau ka tʃʔi*|*ko* (it is an arrow-head)
5. *ka nau* !*kano kwe he* (it is wire like this)
6. *mi na* |ʔ*a ka twa* (I give there)
7. *mi na* ʔ*m: hia* (I eat them)
8. *mi na* |*ge fu: ka tʃʔa:* (I go lie down and sleep)
9. *dʒu na u tama* (a person does not know)
10. *ʒu na* ʔ*m:* !*goe* (a person eats gemsbok)

In these sentences *na* (*ŋa*) is used indiscriminately with a noun subject, or a third person singular of the personal pronoun as subject or *mi* (I) or lastly with *dʒu* (*ʒu*) as the equivalent of "I".

It can therefore be concluded that *a*, at least in the Eastern dialect, can be described as an enclitic.

THE SENTENCE

1. *The order of words in the sentence*

(a) Bushman not being a flexional language has to keep to a strict order of words in the sentence. This is: subject + verb + object. Examples:

dʒu u ts²au gumi (people milk cows)
a u ho: mi (you see me)
tʃ²aku oa ||ŋo: (*tʃ²aku* is a place)

It is only very exceptionally, when emphasis is required or when a word is taken up in an answer to a question, that the strict order of words may be departed from, as in *|ŋo:, ʒu tʃ²ou ka ²m:* (the skin, people roast it and eat it), in answer to a question as to what uses the skin of an eland can be put to.

(b) The frequent omission of the subject pronoun in the sentence, a common Bushman practice, does not seem to be a cause of obscurity or ambiguity to the speakers, as could be expected. The vagueness of the reference, once again, is compensated by reliance on the context. Examples:

oa:ka, ǂŋweka, gumka, gumka, |kama (lit. work it, scrape it, soften it, soften it, wear it). "I" or "people" has to be supplied.

nau ko, ka |ge:, ka kau ǂŋa:, ka ²m: (I say, I went and I gathered berries and I ate them)

Unless the context is known, in these instances, (these series occur in connected narratives or conversation), the subject pronoun might well have been "you" or "they".

2. *Sentences in connected speech*

In connected speech, narratives, descriptions or conversations, co-ordination or better still juxtaposition, and not subordination, is the norm. Our elaborate system of subordinate clauses attached to the principal sentence (temporal clauses, final clauses, conditional clauses, etc.) is quite foreign to the Bushman speaker. His linguistic method is much simpler. He just places one sentence after another, sometimes joining them with *ka* or *te* and the hearer is left to treat them, as the context may indicate, as expressing circumstances of place, time or intention.

(a) Reference to time:

ka mi kx²oa ka twa, mi ku !gama tʃ²ũ ([when] I work and finish, I go into the hut)
|kam ku ŋǂhau te |gu: |ni, te e!ka |ge: kau da: (lit. sun fall down and night sits, i.e. when or since the sun has set and night has come,we shall go and fetch firewood).
ka |kam kwe, ka mi tanio (lit. sun like this [pointing to the sky] i.e. when the sun is thus, on the horizon, I bring them in)
ka mi tʃ²e:ma e !koma kwe, mi ho: gumi (lit. I small short like this, i.e. when I was small and so high, I saw cattle)

(b) Reference to purpose or intention.

dʒu kaua ǂŋa, ka na, ka mi ²m: (one gathers ǂ*ŋa* and gives me and [lit. and I eat] i.e. that I may eat)
i!ka mi kx²ai dʒuwa ka ku na tʃ²isi, ka m ²m: (I have a person to give me [lit. and give me] things [and I eat], i.e. that I may eat)
ku tama |kwa ho: dʒua ku ma: mi dama!ko (I do not know a person to carry my child)

(c) Reference to condition:

ka dʒu !kũ:. kama tʃ?e:ma, dʒu ku kx?wa gesŋ ([if] one kills a small thing, one will want others)

kana !ku: !goe, a ts?osi ka dʒu ku !gi ([if] a person kills a gemsbok, [with] its sinews one sews)

mi na ku txa, |ge ʃu: ka: tʃ?a ([if] I hit the game, I go and lie down and sleep)

ka |ge, a ǂkhi, ka mi ||kaja, (I go and [if] it is dead, I skin it)

ka mi |ge:, ka !gu kwala, ka |ge: ka twa (I go and [if] the water is lacking, I go that way)

(d) Reference to the description of a preceding noun or pronoun:

si!ka ko !gu toa, o |gautʃ?a, ka |ko ǂgẽĩ te kwe ce (they say that water [which] is Gautsha, its surface is so long)

dʒua ts?e o !kwa, ka du ka (A person is a man, [who] does it)

tʃ?a ||koe:si !kũ:mi o gãũã ǂkhi (the thing always kill me [which] is the spirit, [which] is dead)

(e) Reference to a cause or reason:

te toa o !ŋole dole, o tʃ?a |kao, dʒu ka du ka ([Since] that is a strange country, it is wrong to do it)

3. *The function of* ka *and* te *in the sentence*

The sentences quoted above and the texts incorporated in this study, give ample evidence of the use of *ka* and *te*, introducing a statement. More exceptionally *||ka* (thus) may be found.

ka has been translated, by investigators and interpreters alike, by, "and", "while, when, whereas, till, if", a whole string of very unsatisfactory renderings. As a matter of fact, *ka*, which has already been included among personal pronouns, as the 3rd person singular, relating to inanimate objects and to animals, is the same word in a new function. Thus, describing the making of ropes, the Bushman says: *dʒu nau kanaka, kanaka, ka ǂ?oloka* (one twists it, it twist it, it string it). Obviously the literal word-for-word English equivalent does not make sense. Hence the necessity, in the translation, of using understandable English words, and of saying: "one twists it, and twists and strings the bow". And similarly in the case of the other English equivalents.

ka is sometimes reinforced by the addition of *ma* into *kama*, translated by "if, then, because". *ma* presents a problem, its meaning being undetermined. Dialectally it seems to have had an independant existence without having a definite significance, possibly a conditional one. It is not met with in this connection in the present-day speech. In any case *kama* is of very infrequent occurrence.

(i) *ka* remains as a "resumptive", picking up the thread of a preceding sentence. Hence the translation "and", It has also a number of other functions:

(ii) *ka* seems to be used as a kind of padding:

ka !kale ka ka (and cut it, it up)

nau ka ka !kale ka (people it it cut up it)

(iii) when there is uncertainty or hesitation in the speaker's mind:

e!ka ts?i ǂkhai kalu ka ka ka !kai!kwi (we came down to -er - er -er to *!kai !kwi*)

te u ko ka ka ka ka ʒu ka u gunja (and I say -er – er– er –er– people it hunt)

te is another "resumptive". It is widely used and is preferred to *ka* before the copula *o*, e.g. *te o |hulu* (it is *|hulu*).

4. *Interjections*

These expressions of feeling or emotion (approval, command, prayer, request, etc.) can be conveniently treated here. Here is list of them.

Approval: *e*, *ee*: (yes), *ehe*: (yes, of course), *he* – *te*, *he* –*te*, *he* –*te* (really; yes, go on); *m hũ* (oh! indeed); *mi* !*ŋuba* (my father-in-law); *mi* !*ŋutai* (my mother-in-law). These last three are frequent in the course of a narrative; the last two being terms of respect.

Negation: *hẽʔẽ* (no); *_ŋ* –*ŋ* (no); *kxʔweʔe* (no, certainly not).

Requests and commands: !*ka*: (run); *u*: (go away); *we*: (come here); !*ka u*: (run away); ǁ*ŋa ʃe*: (do not return); ǀ*ŋa u*: (do not go away); ¡*ŋa*:*mi* (leave me alone); ǂ*gum* (shut up, silence); |ʔ*a mi ʃoɬe* (give me some tobacco).

Miscellaneous: *dʒao* (Oh!, expressing surprise); ¡*kao* (right, correct); *tsʔam*, *tfʔxam* (a Bushman greeting); *tfʔi doɬe* (rubbish!, lit. a strange, outlandish thing).

* * *

THE TEXTS

The Bushman texts reproduced here are from the recordings made at Jakhals Puts. They do not necessarily follow the order in which they were recorded. In many cases, they have been re-arranged for the sake of a more logical sequence. Repetitions, which are characteristic of the Bushman style, have been omitted, when they are too tedious, as well as most of the interpreter's questions, unless they are essential to the proper understanding of the informant's answers. In this way, a good deal of the present material has been transformed into continuous texts.

While working in the phonetics laboratory of the University, I noticed that, in many instances, the Bushman text given by the interpreter as a faithful counterpart of the informant's Bushman, as recorded on the tapes, was not so in fact. In consequence, I had to play back the recordings a considerable number of times, to secure a faithful rendering and also to re-write the relevant translations correctly. However competent an interpreter may be, slips of this kind are bound to occur.

The Bushman text below is printed in the left hand column and a word-for-word English translation in the right hand column. It is hoped that this translation will enable the reader to gain an insight into the real nature of the language. A free English translation is added as necessary to give the general sense, as well as notes to elucidate the more obscure or the less obvious points.

Some of the qualities of the vowels (e.g. open or close, etc.) are not indicated by their special symbols. See the chapter on the phonology of the vowels. The tones of the words have not been given. The proper place for such details, important as they are, is in the vocabulary.

In the present texts, *Q.* stands for the question of the interpreter and *A.* for the answer of the informant. Where neither of these letters is used, the text is entirely that of the informant.

Some of the passages at the end of one of the reels have been omitted as they are mere repetitions. Some of the shorter texts likewise do not figure here. As they add nothing material in the way of linguistic information to the present texts, they have been reserved for an appendix, to appear at a later date.

On the other hand, three short texts from the Gautsha material (1953) will be found at the end of the Jakhals Puts texts. They are interesting as coming from the very fountain-head of the *dʒu*|ʔõã:*si* speech.

Text I – INTRODUCTION

The first two paragraphs of the recordings contain a very confused account of the informant's group and his migration from the place of his origin to Jakhals Puts. They are not worth transcribing or translating. They can be summarized as follows: ||*khai*, the informant, his mother and his sister formerly lived at a place called *ts²ane*. They belong to the *dʒu|²õã:si* group.

The Bushman text of the latter part of the introduction follows:

ʒu ||kama na !kwana kwe kuli,	person (=I) come out, live like this years,
te kwe tama,	and like this many (shows his fingers),
te kulikwe ts²i !kwana toa.	and years like this come live there (fingers).
Q. kwɛce !kwana ka !ŋole,	here live it country,
kwece ku !kwana o !ku:le oa tʃ²e²	here live is name what?
A. ||a na oa tʃ²aku.	that is *tʃ²aku*.
Q. o a tʃ²e,	What is it?
A. tʃ²aku ŋa oa ||ŋoa.	*tʃ²aku* is a place.
||aka ŋa oa ||ŋoa, ||aka na ||ŋo:	That is a place, that is place,
||aka !ku: a ka na o a ||ŋo:,	that name it is place,
a gwa ǂŋou a !ku:, ka ka o,	it last call name, and it is,
ka ʒu ǂŋou !hã tʃ²aku	people call water-hole *tʃ²aku*,
ka !kwana ka.	and live it.

Free translation

(In answer to a question as to how long he had lived at Jakhals Puts.)

I left *Ts²ane* to come and live here so many years (shows his fingers), and for so many years I have lived here (fingers again).

Q. What is the name of this place?

A. It is *tʃ²aku*.

Q. What is it? (meaning: what does it mean?)

A. *tʃ²aku* is a place. It is a place. People living here, long ago, gave it this name, calling the water-hole *tʃ²aku*.

Note:

1. The name of the group has many variants. ||*khai*, the informant quoted here gave two forms, *dʒu|kõã* and *ʒu|kwa*, both forms without the plural ending *–si*, although one of the forms in this context referred to the whole family. From other informants *dʒu|²õã:si*, *dʒu|ka:si* and *dʒu|ŋwa:si* were heard. This group designation is compounded of (*d*)*ʒu*, (person, people) and |*²õã*, (genuine) (?) They are *the* people, as contrasted with *ʒu dole*, (the strangers), those who do not belong to the group and who are looked upon with disfavour or suspicion.

2. The Bushman hesitancy, whenever numbers are required of them, is well exemplified in this text. It must be remembered that there are no true Bushman words beyond two. Hence the recourse to counting on their fingers.

Text II – THE MAKING OF KAROSSES

Q. a u ko, a !kwa tʃ?i,	he say, you tell thing,
i!ka ku owa tʃ?iŋ!?a:,	you make kaross,
kwe: ʃa i!ka !kũ o a !goe,	perhaps you kill, it is gemsbok,
ku gu |ŋo:, i ku oa tʃiŋ!?a:,	you take skin, you make kaross,
a !kwa tʃ?i, i!ka oa ka.	you tell thing, you make kaross.
A. ee:, oa: ka, zu ǂŋweja ka, oaka,	Yes, make it, people scrape it, make it,
ka gumka, ka gumka, ||kama.	and bray it, bray it, wear.
Q. ka a !kũ !ŋa, i!kaʟe ku a |ŋo:	and you kill an eland, you what do skin?
ko t|?iŋ!?a:.	a kaross?
A. a |ŋo:, nau tʃ?ou ka ?m:.	skin, (person) roast and eat.
Q. i!ka ʟe ku no oa tʃ?e |ŋo:	you what do what skin?
ka i!ka ku oaka o tʃ?in!?a:.	and you make, is a kaross?
A. a !goe na zu ku tʃ?xa a |ŋo: ka |?i:,	gemsbok person shave the skin (with) it axe,
zu ǂŋwe a |ŋo;, ka |kum ka, ka gumka,	person scrape skin, wet it, and bray it,
ka ||kama, ka o tʃ?iŋ!?a:.	and wear, it is a kaross.
nau ǂŋweja ka |?i:, nau ǂŋweja,	(person) scrape it axe, (person) scrape,
ka gumma, ka !gausi, !gau,	and bray, it hands, hand,
ka gumka, ka ||kama.	and bray and wear.
Q. ka i!ka |ŋe o |?ou, a|ŋo:,	and you one is duiker it skin,
i!kaʟe ku oaka tʃ?iŋ!?a |ŋe,	you make kaross one,
kwe:ʃa tʃ?iŋ!?a o ǂkhi.	perhaps kaross is many?
A. ka o tʃ?iŋ!?a |ŋe.	it is kaross one.
ee:, ka kam !kũ kama tʃ?e:ma,	and I kill small thing,
zu kx?wa ka gesŋ, ka !gouka,	person want others, and sew it,
ka ka !ŋa, ka ||kamaka.	and it big, and wear it.
zu o !kwa, ka zu du ka,	person is man, and person do it,
gumka, ka !gou |?a ts?ou, ka ||kama ka.	bray it, and sew for wife, and wear it.
zu na ku o |ŋe, ka o !kwa |ŋe,	person is one, and is man one,
ka !gi ka |?a ts?ou ka ||kama.	and sew it for wife and wear.
Q. a tʃ?eʟe i!ka ku !gi a ka,	what you sew it?
A. !kano na zu du ka, kwe du ka,	iron-wire person do it, do like this,
ka !gou tʃ?a ka, ka kau |kei.	and sew thing it, and is sharp.
Q. te ts?osi i!ka ku !gi ka kaʟe?	and sinews you sew it what?
o a tʃ?e !ka ts?osi	what animal sinews?
A. ka na! kũ a !goe, zu !kũ a tʃ?e ts?osi.	and kill gemsbok, person kill thing sinew
ka zu ka !gi tʃ?a ka,	and person sew thing it,
ka na !goe ts?osi,	and is gemsbok sinews,
te zu ku !kũ ka, ʃue ts?osi,	and person kill it, pull off sinews,
ka ku !gi |?oa ka |ŋo:.	and sew with it skin.
Q. a ku !kwa ko !ka:si sa toa	you tell say animals those
i!ka ku oa tʃ?iŋ!?a:si.	you make karosses.
A. |?ou, |hũ. toasi,	duiker, steenbok. that's all.

Free Translation

Q. He says you tell how you make karosses. If you kill a gemsbok, and take its skin, you make a kaross, tell him how you do it.

A. Yes, make it, one scrapes it to make it, and one has to bray it and bray it, and then it is ready for wear.

Q. If you kill an eland, what do you do with its skin. A kaross ?

A. Its skin, it is roasted and eaten.

Q. Do you make a kaross with its skin ?

A. If it is a gemsbok, one shaves all the hairs with a scraper. The skin is scraped, made wet, and brayed and then it can be worn.

Q. If you have one duiker (a small animal), do you make one kaross or many ?

A. One kaross, Yes, if only a small animal is killed, more skins are required, sewn together into a large kaross and it is then worn. The person who makes it is a man, and only a man, who brays it and gives it to his wife to wear. Only the man sews it for his wife.

Q. What do you sew it with ?

A. With an iron wire, like this (Informant makes the gesture). The wire is sharpened, so that it can be sewn with.

Q. And what threads do you use ? What animal sinews ?

A. If a gemsbok is killed, one sews with its sinews. It is a gemsbok thread. It is killed, the sinews are pulled off and the skins are sewn with it.

Q. The skins of what animals do you use to make karosses ?

A. The duiker and the steenbok. That's all.

Note:

1. Two features characterize the Bushman style: their constant repetitions and their insistence on the practical side of life. Both these features will be noticed over and over again in these texts. Note the constant ending of certain paragraphs with the word *|kama*, (it is worn.) The assertion conveyed by this short sentence is so obvious that it could have well been omitted. But the Bushman does not mind stressing the obvious.

One example of the importance of the practical result comes out, not without humour, in the answer of the informant, when asked what he uses the eland skin for, food taking precedence over clothing. Note also the richness of their vocabulary in terms expressing the details of kaross manufacture.

2. The word for "to sew" has been heard as *!gou*, *!gui* and *!gi*. No satisfactory explanation for these widely divergent forms can be offered here. The Bushman sewing is done by first making a hole into the leather of the kaross with the sharpened wire (*!kano*) and then inserting the sinew thread with the fingers into the hole.

Text III – DIFFERENT KINDS OF KAROSSES

tʃ?iŋ!?a:si. - ee:, o tʃ?i |ŋo:	karosses. – oh! yes, are things skin,
te ts?ousi ||kama, e o ||kosi,	and women wear, and are aprons,
te o tʃ?isi ||kosi,	are things aprons,
te o ||kosi, si u kx?ai,	and are aprons, they possess,
si ?amasina si ||kama ka,	their bodies they cover it,
si ||kama si ?amasi |?oa ka,	they cover their bodies with it,
||ke ||ke ka si !gumsi.	hide it their buttocks.
hia ||ŋae na ku |kwa tana sa toa,	them grown-up men not carry those,

ka ǁkamaka, ka ka do ts?iuna,	and wear it, and make loin-cloths,
ka !kwa u ǁ?ĩ, ka si ku |ge,	and men tie, and they go,
a xabe ka gu tʃ?iŋ!?a:, ka ǁkama.	also take kaross and wear.
Q. a ku ko ia |kx?a sa twa ts?ousi ǁku	he say beads those women put on
si !gumsi kaɻe ku no !?ou ka !kusi?	their buttocks, what call their names?
A. nau !ku te o !?am.	(person) name is *!?am.*
Q. a u ko, i!ka ɻe toa i!ka ma:si hisi	he say you what that you carry them
i!ka e ku a !?ou ka?	you what call it?
A. nau o tʃ?iŋ!?a:si.	(person) is kaross.
Q. a u ko, i!ka hisi u ku ma:ka	he say you them carry
sa koɻe?	how long?
A. na ma:si ka, ka !kãŋ, ʃa kasi	(person) carry them and grow and rest them
ŋǂhao, ka ʒu ǁŋa:si.	walk, and people leave them alone.

Free Translation

Karosses, – Oh! yes, those skin things which the women wear, they are aprons (*|kosi*). They cover their bodies with them, hide their buttocks. The grown-up men do not carry them, they make loin-cloths for themselves and tie them on and, besides, they wear karosses.

Q. He asks what are the beads called which women wear on their buttocks.

A. Their name is *!?am.*

Q. He asks the name of the karosses in which babies are carried.

A. Karosses.

Q. How long are the babies carried ?

A. They carry them, until they are grown and rest and can walk. Then they leave them alone.

Note:

1. Beads have a variety of names: *|kx?a*, the general name for beads. – *!?am*, trade beads; and *|go*, ostrich egg-shell beads, one of the most valued possessions of the Bushman.

2. The answer of the Bushman informant regarding the time at which babies cease to be carried (last paragraph) is typical of the Bushman vagueness concerning time.

Text IV – BOWS AND ARROWS

nau !koa !kãŋ, ka ŋ twa o |ŋi,	(person) break tree, it is *|ni,*
|?um kwe, !koa ka,	cut like this, break it,
|?um ka !ko !ko,	cut (with) knife,
ka do ts?o, ka ǂ?oɻoka,	and make string, and string it (the bow),
ka kx?o ka tʃ?i:	and want arrow,
ka |?um ka, do oa ka ǁŋ|?o,	and cut and make, work the reed,
kam o a ka ǁŋ|?o,	and I make the reed,
tʃ?iŋǁha:, kam . . . (interrupted)	shoot, and I . . .
The arrow.	
nau txa ka ka, ka gu te o a |ŋe,	(person) split it, and take is one,
ǂkam !ŋ ǁŋ|?o	fix inside the reed
(pause) *kau tʃ?iŋ ǁha:ka.*	and shoot it.
Q. a tʃ?e !kãĩŋ i!ka ku oa !ŋau ?	what tree you make bow?

A. |ŋi.	*|ŋi.*
Q. te kau !ŋau ts?osi i!kaku oa ku o a tʃ?e ts?o?	and bow string you make what string?
A. !ka ts?o,	animal string.
The arrow-head.	
nau ka !kala ka ka,	(person) divide it (the iron),
du ka ka, ka ǂŋam ka,	make it, and hammer it,
Q. kale o a tʃ?o ?	and what is it?
A. ka nau ka tʃ?i|ko.	and (person) it arrow-head,
Q. ka le o a tʃ?e, ka le o !kãŋ, kwe:ʃa o a tʃ?e?	and what is it, is it wood? perhaps is what?
A. ka nau !kano kwe he, ka !kala ka, ka ǂŋam ka, ka o tʃ?i|ko.	and (people) iron like this, and divide it and hammer it, and it is arrow-head.

Free Translation

A branch of a tree is broken. It is the *|ŋi*. It is cut with a knife and string is made and the bow is strung. Reeds are cut, prepared, trimmed and we shoot.

Q. What tree do you take the bow from?

A. the *|ŋi*.

Q. What string do you use for the bow string?

A. Animal strings.

The Arrow-head. The iron is divided, prepared, and hammered.

Q. What is it?

A. It is the arrow-head.

Q. What is it? Is it wood?

A. An iron-wire like this. It is split and hammered and it is an arrow-head.

Note:

1. The *|ŋi* is the *moretlhwa* of the Tswana, a species of *Grewia*.

2. It is to be noted that the informant does not mention the bone arrow-point. This may be interpreted to mean that it is going out of fashion. Bone of the kind wanted for this special purpose may be growing scarcer. In any case, iron is easier to obtain nowadays.

Text V - HUNTING

Q. ka a ku |ge guni, !ŋoma ka ||kx?ei, a na le à ku ts?au, ka u: !kwẽŋ !ha.	and you go hunt early morning wake up, and do you get up, and go away start ?
A. !ŋoma |na !ŋoma na, mi kuma ka u:, mi na gu !kulu ka u:. mi na ts?am ka, ka ka m txa ka, mi txa, mi |ge ʃu: ka tʃ?a:, ka kuma ||khama, |ge, a ǂki, kam ||kaja, ka tanio, ka ts?i ka ?m:. nau ||kaja o !ku!ku (pause)	early morning, I early go away, I take my quiver and go away, I stalk it, and I hit it, I hit, I go lie down and sleep, and early follow up, go, it dead, and I skin, and bring, and come and eat, skin with a knife.

ka |kum, ||kãja,	and cut, skin,
ka !kalea, !ka!lea, !ka:si	and cut up, cut up meat.
kam na |ge, ka ||kx?ũŋka ||gao ka.	and I go, and put it down and cover it with branches.
Q. a tʃ?e le a ku |?umma?	you what cut it ?
A. !ku!ku.	knife.
mi na |?a ka twa, mi na ?m; hia,	I give there, I eat them,
ka ka |ŋwi gesŋ,	and get-hold-of others,
oa !kum !ka:si, oa !ko !ka:si	is leg meat, is back meat
ka mi ?m: ka.	and I eat it.
oa !kẽĩŋ !ka:si, ka ǂha !ka:si,	is neck meat, and shoulder meat.
ka mi |?a m zu:si.	I give my people
kam kx'ai ba, mba sŋ ka |kx?wa,	and I have a father, my father still alive,
mi na |?a ha !kẽĩŋ !ka:	I give him neck meat.
mi kwala !ko:.	I is-not brother.

Free Translation

Q. When you go hunting, do you wake up early in the morning and get up, and start?

A. Early indeed, I go away early. I take my quiver and I go away. I stalk the game, shoot and hit it, and when I have done so, I go and lie down and sleep. Next morning, I follow up the game, and when I find it dead, I skin it and bring it home and eat it. I skin it with a knife, cut it up into portions, place it on the ground, and cover it with branches. I give some that way, I eat some, I take other portions, e.g. the leg and the loin and I eat them. The neck and the shoulder I give to my people. I have a father, he is still alive. To him I give the neck. I have no brother (to give meat to).

Note:

The manner of hunting of the Bushman is very accurately described here. Note that the hunter, after he has hit the game, does not immediately worry about getting hold of it. The reason is that he relies on the poison taking effect. For we must remember that all his arrows are poisoned. Sometimes as much as 24 hours elapse before the animal's death.

Whether the division of the meat described above is accurate, cannot be stated definitely. But it serves as an indication of what may take place.

Text VI – FOODS

Q. a u ko a se ka ku tʃ?a, a ku ?msi	he say you thing, you say food
sa i!ka ku ?m: o !ka.	and you eat, is meat?
A. zu na ?m: !goe, kau ?m: ||kx?a	(people) eat gemsbok, and eat almonds
te ?m: ts?i.	and eat nuts.
ʃha:, – zu gu: ʃha:, ka u tʃ?ou	*ʃha:*, – people dig *ʃha:*, and roast,
ka ?m:.	and eat.
zu gu !kwa ka ?m:.	people dig *!kwa* and eat.
zu gu |ŋum.	people dig *|ŋum.*
zu gu !kama.	people dig *!kama.*
ee:, mi ||ŋa hoa.	Yes, I say all.
ka ŋa ka te ||kx?a	It is *||kx?a.*

te o |gum, te o ʃha:, o ŋ|hulu,	and is *|gum*, and is *ʃha:*, is *|hulu.*
o! kama. toasi.	is *!kama.* That's all.
Q. i le no tama.	How many?
A. tama?	*tama?* (Query of the informant).
Q. tama a kwe ia ʔaba te twa a !gousi.	How many like this. Count on your fingers.
A. ka na kwe tama.	It many like this (shows his fingers).
Q. kwe tama.	How many like this (shows ten fingers).
A. ee:	Yes.
Manner of eating	
nau |khwa da:, ka gu, ka ka tʃʔou,	(person) light fire, and get it and roast
ka ka !ŋum, ka ka ʔm: ka.	and cook and eat it.
ka u gu: ʃha:, ka u tʃʔou, ka u !ŋum,	dig *ʃha:*, and roast; and cook,
ka ʒu ʔm:	and people eat.
ka u gu!ka, ka u tʃʔou.	and dig *!ka* and roast.
ka tʃʔi, |ŋia ka ʒu ʔm: ka.	and nuts, *moretlhwa* and people eat it.
ka u |gu:m, ka u tʃʔou, ka u ʔm:.	and *|gu:m*, and roast and eat.
ka gu tʃʔou (indistinct), *ka u ʔm:.*	and dig, roast . . . and eat.
ka gu tʃʔou ||kxʔa, ka u ʔm:	and get roast *||kxʔa* and eat.
ka u |ŋia, ||ga, ka u ʔm:.	and *|ŋia*, pick and eat it.
ka u tʃʔou |gu:m ka u ʔm:.	and roast *|gu:m* and eat.
ka ŋa te . . . (not given by informant)	and . . .
Cooking.	
ʒu na ku tʃʔa !gu, |ʔu:wa kxʔo,	person pour water, put into pot,
ka du ka, ka !ŋum ka ka, ʒu ka ʔm:.ka.	do it, and cook it and person eat it.
Q. i!ka ku |ŋwa !ka |ŋea, i!ka |ŋwa ʔmsi.	You boil meat one, you boil vegetable food.
A. nau|ŋwa, ka tʃʔa !gu kxʔo,	(people) boil, and pour water (into) pot
ka |khwa du: ka.	and light fire.
ka !ŋum, ka ʒu ʔm:.	and cook, and eat.

Free Translation

Q. He says you should tell us about the vegetable food and the meat you eat.

A. One eats gemsbok, almonds and nuts. One digs *ʃha:*, roasts it and eats it. Also *!kwa*, *\|yum* and *!kama.* I shall say them all over again: *\|\|kxʔa*, etc., etc.

Q. How many are there?

A. How many? (Informant hesitates).

Q. Yes, how many. Count on your fingers.

A. Many, like this (shows his fingers).

Q. Like this, (shows five fingers) ?

A. Yes.

Manner of preparing food:

One lights a fire, gets the food and roasts it (under the ashes), cooks it well, and eats it.

(From this point, no further translation is necessary, the literal translation makes everything clear).

Cooking:

One pours water into a pot, the food is boiled, and is then eaten.

Q. Do you boil the meat in the same way as the vegetable food ?

A. We boil the meat, putting water into the pot and lighting a fire, Then we eat it.

Note:

The different vegetable foods mentioned in the text cannot all be identified with certainty. A list of these foods will be found in the *Zeifscrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen*, Band xii, 1921–22, by J. H. Wilhelm and Passarge (*Die Kalahari*, Berlin, 1904) has a long chapter (pp. 785 ff.) on the botany of the Kalahari, with many Native names, including some *!khũ* names.

List of foodstuffs in the text, identified by these two authors:

A. 1. *ʃha*: – (Wilhelm, *ša*, "topinambur", scientific name undertimined). "Topinambour" is the French for the English "Jerusalem artichoke", locally called "truffle", an edible tuber, very pleasant to the taste.

2. *‖kx?a*, – (Wilhelm, *qxa*, *Ricinodendrum rauteniani*, Herero *omungete*; local name *mangetti*. –Passarge, *?ka* "Mandelbaum," common near *|kei|kei*.)

3. *|yi*, – (Wilhelm, *|yi*, *Grewia sp.*, Tswana: *moretlhwa*) Afrikaans: "rosyntjiebos".

4. *|hulu*, – (Passarge, *koro*, Tswana *shepe*, edible root).

B. 1. *ts?i*, (nuts). Is this the *tsĩn-ĩsen*, *Bauhinia esculenta*, of Wilhelm. For *Bauhinia esculenta*, Passarge has *!khũ*, *?kum*; Tswana, *morama*.

2. *|gu:m*, *|yum*. – Are these two forms names of the same vegetable food? Wilhelm has *|um*, *Adansonia digitata*, "baobab". Passarge has I *um*, *Adansonia digitata*, Tswana *moana*. One of these two forms may be the same as those of Wilhelm and Passarge.

C. It has not been possible to identify the three following: *!ka*, *!kwa*, and *!kama* from the descriptions of Wilhelm and Passarge.

As no specimens were taken for botanical identification, no further information can be given here.

Texx VII – STRINGS AND ROPES

nau !kam ka, ka kanaka,	(person) scrape it, and twist it,
kwe du !kãĩŋ, ka ‖ko ka,	thus do tree, and hang it,
ka kanaka, ka ‖kwi ‖ko ka,	and twist it, and trap lay,
ka m |ge ‖?ĩ.	and I go tie.
Animal sinew strings.	
nau kanaka, ka kanaka, ka ǂ?olka.	(person) twist it and twist it, and string it.
Bark strings.	
nau kana ǂŋam kwe,	(person) twist stamp thus,
nau ʃue ka, ka !kala ka,	(person) pull it out, and split it,
ka ‖gei, ka |ge ku ‖ku,	and press down and go hang,
ka ka |?o,	and face (in front of)?
ka zu kanaka, ka zu |kau kasi.	and people twist it and person dry it.
Animal strings.	
nau !kũ a !ŋa, ka ʃua ts?osi,	(person) kill eland, and pull out sinews,
ka do |?oa tʃ?i.	and do with it thing.
ka u !kũ a !gei, ka ʃua ts?osi,	and kill wildebeest, and pull out sinews,
ka du |?oa tʃ?i.	and do with it thing.
te !kũ a |gwe, ka ʃua ts?osi,	and kill zebra, and pull out sinews,
ka du |?oa tʃ?i.	and do with it thing.
te !kũ a |?oũ, ka ʃua ts?osi,	and kill duiker, and pull out sinews,
ka du |?oa tʃ?i.	and do with it thing.
Bark ropes.	

!gou, – ʒu ko a !ku: – !gou.	haakdoring, people call its name haakdoring
ǂŋa –ʒu |koa:si ko a !ku: – ǂŋa	*ǂŋa*, Bushman call its name *ǂŋa*.
ʒu ko a !ku: – !gou.	people call its name haakdoring.
ʒu ko a !ku: – !koe.	people call its name *!koe*.
ʒu ko a !ku: – !ga,	people call its name *!ga*.
ʒu ko a !ku: . . . toasi.	people call its name (not completed) It is all.

The first paragraph is a very confused account of the manufacture of ropes. As the interpreter's dictation and translation do not help, an attempt was made to elucidate the text, by careful listening of the recordings and substituting the right word in the proper place, the resulting text being in greater agreement with what the Bushman said. For this paragraph, a simple explanation will be more suitable than a free translation.

The informant, with characteristic appreciation of practical results, has mixed up the making of ropes with the construction and setting of a trap to catch birds and small animals. A description of this type of trap will be found in Passarge, *op. cit.*, pp. 77–9, with two illustrations.

Free translation

Bark strings: The bark is twisted, stamped upon, the fibres drawn out, split, pressed down, hung and allowed to dry, twisted and dried once more.

Animal strings:–An eland is killed, its back sinews pulled out and the string is made from them. If it is a wildebeest, a zebra or a duiker, the same thing is done to make the sinew strings.

Enumeration of plants from which fibre strings are made:– It is not necessary to give any further translation of this section of the text, as the meaning is quite clear from the literal translation.

Passarge, *op. cit.*, p. 90., gives a good description of the manufacture of the bark string observed by him. The string, in this instance, was derived from the *Sanseveria cylindrica*, which he calls *ʔgui*. This can be identified with the third plant in the list of the text, e.g. *!ko‾e*.

!gou, is the "haakdoring", (the interpreter's information), and is the *Acacia detinens* of the botanist. Its hooked thorns prove a great nuisance. The other plants have not been identified.

Text VIII – THE DAY'S WORK AND PLAY

ka mi tʃʔe:ma e !koma koma kwe,	and I small, little like this,
ka mi ho: gumi.	I see cows.
kweče m ge, nau kəli gumi.	here I stay, look after cows.
Q. i le no tama	how many?
A. mi |kwa kwe tama.	I not thus know.
nau kuma ka kwe, ku ka ʃue, ka i u:	(person) early like this, drive, and they go,
ka |kam kwe, ka mi tanio.	sun like this, and I bring them.
nau kuma tʃʔau, ka |ge, ka u: hise,	(person) early get up, and go and get out,
ka !kxʔai, ka u tsʔao.	and round them up, and milk.
nau kuma |ge !kxʔai, ka |ʔu:wa hi	(person) early round up, and put them
||kali !ŋi.	kraal inside.
nau !kxʔai gesŋ, ka |kam ǂŋau ka,	(person) round up others, and sun go down
ka m!kxʔai gesŋ, ka |ge u:ŋ, ka tʃʔa:	and I round up others, and go away and sleep.
ka kuma ka tsʔao,	and early and milk.
ʒu tsʔao hi, ʒu kuma ka !ŋo u tsʔao.	people milk them, people early milk.

Q. ale ŋ!hã gu:	do you know sheep?
A. mi na ŋ!hã.	I know.
Q. a le kali hi	do you look after them?
A. mi |kwa kali.	I not look after.
Q. a le kali pəli.	Do you look after goats?
A. mi |kwa kali pəli.	I not look after goats.
mi na |kwa ts?i . . .	I not come . . .
kam kx?oa toa, kam ku !gam tʃ?ũ,	and I work finish, and I go in hut,
ka ʃu: ka tʃ?a;.	lie down and sleep.
Q. gwa ǂ?a |gu:, ka i!ka tʃ?ani,	last night, you dance,
ka tʃ?ai toa, ale |ge ʃu:	dance finish, you go lie down,
kwe:ʃa ale |ge ge, te ku du a tʃ?e	perhaps you go stay and do what?
A. mi na |ge ʃu: ka tʃ?a:.	I go lie down and sleep.
!ŋoma mi na ||kx?ei, ka ts?i ka,	morning I wake up and come,
!ŋoma te ||kx?ai, ge ||kali ǂosi.	morning and wake up, stay outside kraal.
mi na ge kx'ao, e ku o ||?õe,	I stay work, and am tired,
e ku |ge guni, na sa kwe tama,	and go hunt, and like this feel,
ka ku ts?i |ge |hõ.	and come go white master.
Q. ?msi si ku |?a i!ka,	food they give you?
kwẽce ia |hũ te he kx?oa, o a tʃ?e	here them white masters and here work what is it?
A. ʃhamaŋga, ka ku |?a e!ka (pause) *ʃhamaŋga:*	mealies, and give us - mealies.
ʃhamaŋga |?a |ŋe,	mealies and give only,
nau ts?ou |?a m ku ka.	women give us milk it.
e!ka nautʃ?ia !gu:	we drink water
o kole m ts?i kau kx?oa	is where we come work
kole nau tʃ?ia !gu:.	where we drink water.
||aka ge a, ka ||ŋa te e ku tʃ?ia !gu:,	There stay, and say and we drink water,
na, e, ||ŋa ts?euta.	we, we say *ts?euta.* (name of water-hole)
ka nau |ge, ka !gu: kwala, ka |ge katwa,	(person) go and water absent, and go that way,
ka mi guni, ka ts?i tam ||kx?a,	and I hunt, and come taste almonds,
e gu ?msi, ho: !kaŋ !gu:	and dig roots, find tree-water,
ka tʃ?i, ka m ||kama ka ts?i.	and drink and I come out and come.
ee:, mi na ŋ!hã ŋ|hwi	Yes, I know somewhere
ka mi ||ŋo |ŋe o ||gana,	and I one place is ||*gana*; (place name),
mi |gea, kwala !gu:, ka mi guni	I go, no water, and I hunt,
ka kwe mi |ŋi na ka ts?i.	and like this sit, and come.
ka mi guni ||ŋho, e ho: ka,	and I hunt about and find it,
e ka oa !hã !ŋi,	and it is well inside,
ka ku |ŋi, ka ǂhum, ka tʃ?i ka.	and sit, draw water, and drink.

Free Translation

I was a small boy, so high, when I saw cows. And here where I stay, I look after them.

Q. How many are there?

A. I do not know. I get up early, like this (points to the sun), I drive them and they go. When the sun is like this (pointing again to the sun). I bring them back. And in the morning, they are milked, I go and take them away, and round them up and take them into the kraal. When the sun goes down,

I round up others and go and bring them in and I sleep, and next morning they are milked. People milk them in the early morning.

Q. Do you know sheep?
A. I know sheep.
Q. Do you look after them ?
A. No.
Q. Do you look after goats ?
A. I do not look after goats. I do not go in to them. When I finish my work, I go into the hut, lie down and sleep.
Q. Yesterday, you had a dance. When the dance was over, did you go and sleep?
A. I went and lay down and slept.
In the morning, I woke up, and went to my work, drove the cattle out. They stayed outside the Kraal.
I stay and work here, but when I am tired, I go out hunting and when I feel so inclined, I come back to my master.
Q. What food do they give you?
A. Mealies.
Q. Any mealie meal?
A. No, only mealies, the women give us milk.
Q. Where is the water you drink?
A. The water we drink is where we work. The name of the place is *ts?euta*. When hunting, I go and if there is no water, I go another way, I hunt and chew almonds and dig for roots, then I find tree-water, I drink and come home. Somewhere about here I know of another place, *ǁgana*. When I go out hunting, and find no water, I come back (presumably to *ǁgana*). But if I find water in the well, I sit, draw it and drink it.

Note: The water-tree contains water in some of its hollows. The Bushman drink it.

MARSHALL TEXTS

Three fragments, extracted from the material collected by the Marshall group at Gautsha in 1953, are included here. As the material consists of conversations where a number of speakers took part, it is very difficult and in some parts impossible to sort out the words of one speaker from those of the others.

The fragments published here have mostly been pieced together by the interpreter and transcribed and checked by me. Only pieces which offer a fair sequence have been selected. Gaps occur so frequently in the rest of the material that it would not always be intelligible to the average reader.

TEXT I – The birds ŋ|ho:ʃe and |kwe|kwe:ni

Q. i!ka !koa ko ts?ama toa, i!ka ǂkwa,	You tell, say bird that, you imitate,
i!ka ku tʃ?ani,	you dance,
i!ka !koa ǁa ts?ama !ku:	you tell that bird name.
A. ŋ|ho:ʃe.	*ŋ|ho:ʃe* (the bird's name).
Q. a ŋ ko, i!ka !koa ka ǂŋwa.	you say, you tell story.
ka ce okx?wi, ale o a tʃ?e?	and speak, what is it?
A. a kwala ǂŋwa, |ŋe te okx?wisi.	there is no story, only its words,
ka ko "kuli, ha, ha; kuli ha, ha."	it say; "*kuli, ha, ha; kuli, ha, ha.*"

ka ceha ku !ŋoma ku okx²wi	and in the morning speak
ka ʒu !hã, ka ko ‖kõãŋ u:,	and people know and say: "darkness go away,"
ka |kam |gi." ka ku ǂkwa.	and sun come, And we imitate.
Q. ‖a ts²ama toa, i!ka ku ko	and that bird that you say
o te ka kx²ei da:	is and it possess fire.
A. a kwaɬa da:, te o ts²ama |ŋe.	it there-is not fire, it is only a bird.
Q. a toa ku kx²ei, ɬe o a tʃ²e²	it that possess, what is it?
A. |kwe|kwe:ni.	*|kwe |kwe:ni* (the name of the bird).
Q. i!ka ǂkwa a²a,	imitate it,
ǂkwa, ko a |kwe |kwe:ni okx²wisi	imitate, say *|kwe |kwe:ni* words.
A. a he ku ko "ts²e, ts²e, ts²e ri, ri.	it say: "ts²e ts²e, ts²eri, ri."
he hi o |kwe |kwe:ni	this is *|kwe |kwe:ni.*

Free Translation

Q. Tell the name of the bird you imitate, when you dance.
A. *ŋ|ho:ʃe.*
Q. Tell us its story, and what it says.
A. There is no story, It says "kuli, haha!" It sings in the morning and people know and say: "night is gone and the day is coming." And we imitate it.
Q. And that bird you say possesses fire?
A. It has no fire. It is only a bird.
Q. And the fire-bird, what is it?
A. *|kwe |kwe:ni.*
Q. Imitate its cry.
A. it says: "ts²e, ts²e, ts²e, ri, ri, ri." This is *|kwe |kwe:ni.*

TEXT II – A shooting incident

a tʃ²iŋ ‖ha ka |hwi,	He has only one shot
te ku !ka:, te o !gwe, |ge !ŋu:	it run, the gemsbok, go and stand.
a tʃiŋ ‖ha ka te ko" !kup."	he shoot and it say: "*!kup.*"
e! ka ko "ee;" ka |²u:li txa.	we say: "Yes," and bullet hit.
ha ‖ŋami !ŋa du, tama, te o sŋ !kẽŋ	old *‖ŋami* do, not know, and is only noise.
te mi ko "kx²we²e."	and I say: "oh!, oh!"
ha ku ‖keija, o ʒu gwa tam.	he hold on, is a man last not know.
ha ‖ŋami !ŋa ku ko a te ŋ!hã.	old *‖ŋami* say he know.
GAP. (one or two sentences missing).	
mi te !ko:, te ku ²m: ka ts²i.	I sit and eat nuts.
te ia ʒu ku ‖khama !goe,	and them people follow up gemsbok.
a Jona sa ts²am kx²ao !ŋa ts²i	John and *ts²am kx²ao !ŋa* come
te ʒu ts²a, a Jona ko	and people ask, John say
a !goe ʃa ǂki, a ku ha gu auto,	he gemsbok rest dead, he he take truck,
te |ge |²u:wa !goe.	and go put in gemsbok.

Free Translation

He had only one shot. The gemsbok ran and then stood. The gun said: "*!kup.*" and we said: "the bullet has found its mark."

(Here another subject is taken up: it is an unsuccessful attempt on the part of ||*ŋami* to start the truck in order to go and fetch the gemsbok).

Old ||*ŋami* tried, but did not know how to do it. It was only a noise. I said: "oh! oh!." But ||*ŋami* kept on and did not know any better, but he replied that he knew.

Gap. I sat and eat nuts, the others followed the spoor of the buck. John and old *ts?am kx?ao* came and people asked. John said: "The gemsbok is stone dead." And he took the truck to fetch the gemsbok.

TEXT III – A language lesson

(On being asked the difference between *sa* and *ʃa*, the following conversation took place).

Q. ʃa, ʃa o a tʃ?e?	What is *ʃa*?
A. sa, |kwa o ʃa. ʃa zu ‖kwe	*sa*, not *ʃa. ʃa* people pull out
ka ka ?m:. te sa zu |kwa ?m:.	and eat, and *sa* people not eat.
Q. ha sa, le ku o a tʃ?e?	and *sa*, what is it?
A. ka zu ku tʃ?ani, zu ku |?u:wa ka,	and people dance, people put it on,
ka zu ‖ku za:.	and people smell nice.

The meaning from the literal translation is quite clear. No further translation is needed. *sa* is an aromatic powder, compounded of many sweet-smelling herbs and roots. *ʃa* is dug out of the ground. It is a root and much prized as foodstuff. See note of the Text vi, Foods.

THE ||GANAKWE DIALECT OF THE CENTRAL GROUP

The second language of which I took recordings was ||*ganakwe*, at the farm Uitkoms, 38 miles east of Ghanzi, on the 6th of May 1955.

The conditions were not wholly favourable. The informant was poor material. He did not always answer my questions readily and he had the unfortunate habit of dropping his clicks at the second and third repetition of the word asked for. Perhaps the recording machine was too much for him, as I found it to be the case with many other informants. To crown all, he was allowed by his employer to work with me only for a short afternoon, as his farm duties did not enable him to return later on.

The language was not entirely new to me, as it had been studied by Schinz (*Deutsch Südwest Afrika*, 1891), by Passarge (*Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 1907) and more thoroughly by Miss D. F. Bleek (*The Naron*, 1928). These investigators had devoted their attention to one or other of the dialects of the Central Group, Schinz at |*noixas*, south-west of Ghanzi ; Passarge, locality unknown, probably north-east of Ghanzi and Miss Bleek within the South West African border, at Sandfontein. But the differences from ||*ganakwe* are negligible. My interpreter stated that the language of my informant was "the same as Naron".

Whatever the value of this linguistic material which I collected at Uitkoms, I give it for what it is worth. It will be seen at any rate that it is important in one respect. Diverging, in no violent manner, from the western dialects which I have listed, it moves linguistically in the direction of the dialects of the same group towards the east. It is thus a link between East and West.

One more point, the group name of my informant was given as ||*ganakwe*. Passarge and Seiner [1] record a tribe to the north east, towards Lake Ngami and past it, along the Okavango Swamps, which

[1] Seiner, F. Ergebnisse einer Bereisung der Omaheke 1910 bis 1912, *Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten*, 1913, Band XXVI

they transcribe as |*Tannekwe* (to be restored as |*ʔanekwe*) and more recently (1955) investigators, who were at *Muhembo*, near the Bechuanaland border of the Kaprivi Strip, on the Okavango River, call it ǂ*anekwe*. Do these names, with their click variations, cover the same linguistic group?

My method of presentation will have to adapt itself to the changed conditions. As the material is so slender, I shall transcribe from the sound reels everything that is on record. They are merely a series of words and a few sentences. When I tried to get connected texts, the result was anything but satisfactory. I was further handicapped in not having been able to do any prelimenary preparation work with my informant or to question him on any doubtful point, the time being so short. My interpreter was able to fill a few gaps, and a camp attendant, who spoke the same language, added a few words (these were not recorded on the tapes). I shall add whatever commentary (phonological, morphological, etc.) may be justified by the material.

SHORT VOCABULARY OF ǁGANAKWE

The words on the recordings have been rearranged according to their initial letters. Words in brackets indicate variant pronunciations.

P. *piɬi*, goat
B. *ba*, father
M. *ma:*, head
m, (*mũ*), to see
T. *thĩ*, leg
ti, to stand.
tẽĩ-sa, bow
tama, not
toa, finish
tu, rain
tu, (*tua*), yesterday
D. *deβaxam*, sister
doɬo, (*dʒoɬo*), firestick
doŋgi, donkey
du, (*dʒu*), eland
dum, throat
duʃa, what?
N. *nabe* (!*nabe*) giraffe
S. *se*, to take
sam, milk, Cp. Hott. *sami*, breast
Ts? *tsʔi* buttock
tsʔa, water
tsʔou, hand, finger
ʃ. *ʃoɬe*, tobacco
T*ʃ*ʔ. *tʃʔa*, waterhole
tʃʔoɬi, grass stem, for sucking
D*ʒ* *dʒeɬa*, bird water
dʒou, ashes
K. *kwekwe*, men
kwe-sa, woman
kaɬu, to run
kum, to listen to hear
kuʃ͡u, hot
kuɬu, to make, to do
G. *gu:*, to fetch firewood, firewood
gwe-sa, cow, *gwedʒi*, cows
X. *xam*, lion
xom, sand
Kxʔ. *kxʔẽĩ*, liver
kxʔei-ʃ, face
kxʔa, to drink
kxʔau, male, man
kxʔau, arrow-head
kxʔãĩ, aasvoel
kxʔam, mouth
kxʔo:, meat
kxʔwi, to speak
ʔ. *ʔai-s*, mother
ʔii, wood
H. *hi*, tree
ha (*aʔa*, *a:*), to come, arrive, be
|. |*ki:a*, to dance
|*ke:*, ear
|*kei*, wildebeest
|*kam*, two
|*kam*, sun, |*ŋe* |*kam kwe*, to-day
|*kan*, to smoke
|*kui*, one
|*kui-ʃ*, nose
|*ga*, grass
|*garo*, ostrich
|*xo* (|*ho*), gemsbok

|*ŋe* (||*ŋi*), this
|*ŋua:se*, red
|*ʔe:*, fire
|*ʔam*, bag
|*ʔõ*, hair
|*ʔu*, not to know
|*ʔubi*, egg
ǂ. ǂ*kei* (ǂ*khei*), cold
ǂ*ka:*, veld
ǂ*kã*, to set, of the sun
ǂ*kãn*, to cut
ǂ*kale* |*kwa*, small child
ǂ*goni*, worm
ǂ*kxʔei*, eye
ǂ*kxʔwa*, elephant
ǂ*ŋei*, (ǂ*nai*), to sing
ǂ*ŋauʃa*, black
ǂ*ŋu:* (|*ŋu:*), to sit
ǂ*ŋuka* (||*ŋuka*), night
ǂʔ*a*, to know
ǂʔ*a:*, arrow
ǂʔ*ũ* (ǂʔ*ã*), to eat
!. !*kan*, nice
!*kõ* (!*kũ*), to go
!*kõ-se*, beads
!*kwe*, leopard
!*kwa*, to rise, of the sun
!*gãi* (*gãi*), springbok
!*gum*, to blow
!*gwi*, rope
!*xore*, string of beads
!*ŋona*, three
!*ŋum-se*, embers
!*ŋwona*, land
!ʔ*u*, white
!ʔ*uka*, morning
||. ||*kaba*, bow string
||*kã*, to set, of the sun.
||*kam*, to clap hands
||*kau*, knife
||*khao*, to shoot
||*kona*, star
||*kõ*, tooth
||*khama*, hartebeest
||*gai* |*kwa*, girl
||*go kwe*, great man
||*gu*, chest
||*kxʔom*, to sleep
||*ŋa*, horn
||*ŋai*, hut
||*ŋau*, kaross
||*ŋoe*, moon
||*ŋoa*, stone
||ʔõã, arm.

SENTENCES

The corresponding *Naron* sentences are quoted in the right hand column, for comparison with ||*ganakwe*.

1. *kxʔau kwe* |*kwi ko ku u tʃʔi*
   men only do it (?)
2. (a) *ti ko tʃʔa* ||*khao*
   I you shoot
   (b) ||*khao ti u tʃʔa*
   shoot I you (I shoot you)
3. *tʃʔa m* *mũ ti*
   (he) you see (He sees you)
4. ||*ŋau se tʃʔe ma*
   kaross take he (He takes the kaross)
5. *ti* ||*ais a* !*kõ*
   I werf go (I go home)
6. *aʔa: ti kwe*
   come I here (I have come here)

7.	*bam di ǁais* father's werf	*abam di ǁais*
8.	*kum sa na ti* listen I (I listen)	*kum sa na ra*
9.	*kum tama ti a* hear not I (I do not hear)	*kum tama ra*
10.	*dʒela ko ǂŋei* bird sing	*tʃela ko ǂŋei*
11.	*|kan tama ti a* smoke not I (I do not smoke)	*|kan tama ra*
12.	*!kã ʃole a* nice tobacco (tobacco is nice)	*!kã ʃole a*
13.	*a ti kxʔai ǂʔã . . .* I drink eat	*ǁŋaure kxʔa ǂʔã* enough I drink eat
14.	*|ŋai semi toa* now we finish	*na toa*
15.	*sa kara kxʔwi* we talk (we shall talk)	*sa ta ra kxʔwi*
16.	*|ŋe ʃkhara ka duʃa kuru* now we two shall what do?	*|ŋe skhara ka duʃa kuru*
17.	*|ʔu a ti a* not know I (I do not know)	*|ʔu ra*
18.	*gwedʒi ti ka kwara. . .* cows I shall let loose	*gwedʒi ka kwara*
19.	*gwedʒi ka ǂkara !kõ* cows shall veld in go	*gwedʒi ka ǂkara !kõ*
20.	*kuru ʃa* hot (it is hot)	*kuru ʃa*
21.	*ǂkhei !ʔuka* cold morning (it is cold)	*!ʔuka keise ǂkhei* morning very cold

Note:

1. The word for "I" has been transcribed *ti*. It is heard also variously as *ce*, and *tʃ'ɪ*.
2. Some of the sentences were left incomplete by the informant, e.g. Nos. 13, 15 and 19.
3. the *a* ending a sentence is the same as *ha*, "to come, to be".

The place of ǁganakwe among the dialects of the Central Group and its relationship to the Hottentot dialects

One problem remains to be inquired into, perhaps the most interesting and far-reaching of all those which have been discussed up to the present. It is a big problem of comparative linguistics. A much more extensive study than can be attempted here is required in order to investigate all its different aspects. In this section we can only use the material collected at Uitkoms, but it will be sufficient to outline the main points of the question. A few brief indications, which can only touch the fringe of the larger problem, are given below.

Investigators in the past have compared *Naron* and its related dialects to Nama spoken in South

West Africa. In its present form, Nama is an aberrant and very much evolved dialect of Hottentot. They have failed to connect the Bushman dialects with Korana, which has preserved the more archaic elements of the language, perhaps because Korana was very imperfectly known before the publication of the work of Engelbrecht, Meinhof and my own between the years 1928 and 1932, with the further appearance of Beach's study of its phonetics (1937). Korana is important in a comparative investigation of this kind, as it gives the key to many of the linguistic facts which Nama is unable to explain.

PHONETICAL DATA

One sound complex, the "ejective velar affricate" *kx²* is common both to the Central Group of Bushman and to Korana, but is unknown to Nama.

‖*ganakwe*	*Naron*	Korana	Nama	English
kx²ei–ʃ	*kx²ei-s*	*kx²ai-b*	*ei-s*	face
kx²a	*kx²a*	*kx²a*	*a*	to drink
kx²ãĩ	*kx²ãĩ-sa*	*kx²ãĩ-b*	*ãĩ-b*	liver
kx²au	*kx²au-ba*	*kx²ao-b*	*ao-b*	man, male
kx²am	*kx²am-ʃa*	*kx²am-s*	*am-s*	mouth
kx²o:	*kx²o²o*	*kx²o:-b*	‖*gani*	meat

The *Naron* and Korana are taken from my own lists and the Nama words from Krönlein, *Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin* (1889). They are of such a nature that they belong to the oldest stratum of language and there is not the slightest likelihood that they are loan-words from one language to another.

Apart from the words with the *kx²* initial, the lexical concordances between Hottentot, *Naron* and ‖*ganakwe* are numerous.

MORPHOLOGICAL DATA

Nouns: The Hottentot dialects and *Naron* all use suffixes to nouns to mark gender, e.g. *–b* for the masculine singular and *–s* (*–ʃ*) for the feminine singular. They share these suffixes with verbs, as they are really short forms of the personal pronoun. In ‖*ganakwe* it seems that only the feminine is shown, e.g. ‖*²ai-s*, (werf,) *tẽĩ-sa*, (bow); *kwe-sa*, (woman), *gwe-sa*, (cow); !*kõ-se*, (beads); *kx²ei-ʃ*, (face).

Pronouns: Korana possesses the most archaic forms, which have disappeared from Nama. One of these archaic pronouns is dual suffix *–khara*, which is found in ‖*ganakwe* in *ʃi-khara* in sentence No. 16 and *sa-khara* in sentence No. 15.

The 3rd person personal pronoun is normally suppressed, (see sentence No. 3). In fact it is almost impossible to obtain from the average informant any details about the 3rd person.

Verbs: There are tense formatives in Bushman of the Central Group and in Hottentot. *ko* in Korana and *go* in Nama are past tense formatives, as well as in the Central group, although in the latter dialects *ko* is used indifferently for the past and the present, as is well exemplified in the sentences listed above. *ka* is the future tense formative in ‖*ganakwe*, whilst Korana has *ta* and Nama a quite different formative *nĩ*.

This then is the riddle awaiting solution. *Naron* and ‖*ganakwe*, Bushman languages, spoken by people with a Bushman way of living, are basically Hottentot in their morphology and appreciably so in their vocabulary (they have the majority of it in the shape of characteristic Bushman words). One of the most puzzling elements of the problem is that the strongest traits of this similarity are with Korana and not with Nama.

Geographically, Nama is the next door neighbour to *Naron* and ǁ*ganakwe*, whilst Korana is separated from them by hundreds of miles. They do not appear, at least as far as we can ascertain, to have had any kind of contact with the Korana. There were large scale displacement of the Hottentot populations in the latter part of the 18th century and in the process of displacements the Korana were the last to have moved into the northernmost limit of their migration at or near the modern Schweizer Reineke, and Bloemhof in the Transvaal and Kimberley in the Cape Province. Since presumably there has been no contact, at least in historical times, it is legitimate to conjecture that, at some remote period in the prehistory of these peoples, their languages were even closer to each other than they are to-day and it is also perhaps legitimate to assume that some sort of parent language, ancestral to all of them, existed. But it is wiser, for the present, to content ourselves with something more modest, a working hypothesis of some kind, based on the picture which we have just drawn. It would take us too far afield to sort out all the mass of evidence now available, both published and unpublished, in order to build something more solid. Let that be for another occasion.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

The publications listed below have been received by the Managing Editor during the period 1st September 1956, to 30th November 1956. This list does not include journals received on exchange.

BLEEK, Dorothea F.: *A Bushman Dictionary*. American Oriental Society, New Haven. 1956.

EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E.: *Nuer Religion*. The Clarendon Press, for Oxford University Press, London & Cape Town. 1956.

FALLERS, Lloyd A.: *Bantu Bureaucracy (A Study of Integration and Conflict in the Political Institutions of an East African People)*. W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., Cambridge. n.d.

GALAAL, Muuse Haaji Ismaaiil & B. W. ANDRZEJEWSKI: *Hikmad Soomaali (Annotated African Texts)*. Oxford University Press, London & Cape Town. 1956.

GALLETTI, R., K. D. S. BALDWIN & I. O. DINA: *Nigerian Cocoa Farmers* Oxford University Press, for the Nigerian Cocoa Marketing Board. London & Cape Town. 1956.

GILGES, W.: *Some African Poison Plants and Medicines of Northern Rhodesia*. The Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Livingstone. 1955.

GUNN, Harold D.: *Pagan Peoples of the Central Area of Northern Nigeria*. International African Institute, London. 1956.

GUTHRIE, M., & A. N. TUCKER (Supervisors): *Linguistic Survey of the Northern Bantu Borderland*, Volume 1. Oxford University Press, for International African Institute. London & Cape Town. 1956.

PANIS, J.-C.: *Le Chemin de Fer de la Méditerranée au Niger*. Les Editions de Visscher, Bruxelles. 1956.

RICHARDS, Audrey I.: *Chisungu (A Girl's Initiation Ceremony among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia)*. Faber & Faber, London. 1956.

SINXO, Guybon B.: *Isakhono somfazi namanye amabalana*. Afrikaanse Pers Beperk, Johannesburg. 1956.

SOUTHALL, Aidan W.: *Alur Society*. W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., Cambridge. n.d.

TEMPELS, Placide: *Bantu Philosophie, Ontologie und Ethik*. Wolfgang Rothe Verlag, Heidelberg, Germany. 1956.

WAGNER, Günter: *The Bantu of North Kavirondo: Volume II, Economic Life*. Oxford University Press, for International African Institute. London & Cape Town. 1956.

——— *Special Study on Social Conditions* in Non-Self-Governing Territories. Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York. 1956.

BOOK REVIEWS

Nationalism in Colonial Africa. THOMAS HODGKIN. Frederick Muller Ltd., London. 1956. 216 pp. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Before the nineteen-forties colonial administration was concerned mainly with the ends sought and the methods used by the colonial powers in their dependencies. This was the central theme in the books written by Lugard, Hailey, Margery Perham and others. From this point of view it was usual to analyse such problems as the relative merits of indirect and direct rule; plantations versus peasants; European law as against Native custom; and similar issues. It was always assumed that European authority over colonial Africa would continue indefinitely.

Mr. Hodgkin begins by questioning this assumption. To his mind the contemporary colonial problem, put in a nutshell, is this: what adjustments, compromises, and surrenders must the European colonial powers make in face of the claims of African nationalism? It follows that a significant place in African studies should be allotted to hitherto neglected questions about the new political leadership that has emerged all over west, central, and east Africa.

The new nationalism flourishes in the new towns that modern commerce has produced. Mr. Hodgkin therefore devotes a chapter full of perception to the social process of urbanization visible in so many vital centres. Against this background he proceeds to describe and discuss the new associations through which Africans are entering a life of their own in a new setting. These associations are the national congresses, political parties, trade unions, religious sects, and cultural groups that rise and fall everywhere. There is not enough material in this field, nor has research begun to explore it sufficiently, to enable anyone to draw the full picture with any assurance. Mr. Hodgkin has, however, written an excellent study which, as he says, must be taken as only a preface to further work. None the less, he has packed into this concise book much more information and insight than one can find in many more pretentious volumes.

J.L.

The Christian Church and Islam in West Africa. J. SPENCER TRIMINGHAM I.M.C. Research Pamphlets, No. 3, S.C.M. Press Ltd., London. 1955. 3*s*.

According to the preface, this pamphlet is largely based on material collected during the courseof a study undertaken by the auth or, on behalf of the C.M.S. and the Methodist Missionary Society in 1952. The author, who is lecturer in Arabic at Glasgow University, served as missionary in Egypt and the Sudan, and is widely known for his *Islam in the Sudan* and other works. The essay, he says, should be taken as an offshoot of his main study of West African Islam which will be published in due course.

As against this future publication which, as the title suggests, will deal mainly with Islam, this pamphlet's purpose is to tackle the problem of the aims, methods, outlook and approach of Christianity in West Africa, in order to arrive at a "reappraisal of the Christian approach to Islam, and a re-orientation of the ecclesiastical and missionary outlook in West Africa".

The need for these two changes is so apparent, and the suggestions offered towards their accomplishment so challenging, yet so authoritatively argued, based as they are on a profound (and rare) knowledge of the African, Islamic and Christian modes of thought, that the reviewer finds herself unable to convey the full message of this small pamphlet without going into some details.

Travelling through the regions as "a wandering student" the author came to the conclusion that "the general effect of the adoption of Christianity did not appear to be any better than conversion to Islam" (which, in view of what follows, is an understatement). Inherent in this condemnation of Christianity is the author's conviction that the effect of Christ's message (not of Western Christ-

ianity) should and can do better. It is from the point of view of a sincerely believing Christian that the material has been analysed and interpreted.

In the confrontation between Islam and Christianity two areas have to be distinguished, and hence two different methods of approach adopted. Islam descends from the North, whilst Christianity pushes upwards from the coastal regions.

With regard to the northern half of the Sudan, that wide band south of the Sahara and north of the Forest Region, where Islam is already consolidated and institutionalized, the author makes it abundantly clear that here Christianity has not a hope. Here the Church can only undertake a work of reconciliation, it should seek to engage Islam in a "dialogue" (a term used by the author in its modern, continental meaning of a constructive meeting) and without reservations and ulterior motives of securing conversions. For where Islam is implanted as a civilization, and apostasy becomes a betrayal of the community, it is useless for Christianity to seek converts.

It is, however, in the border area between the two rivals, which is still largely pagan and in which Islam occupies some strong positions and Christianity only a few isolated pockets, that Christianity has a direct evangelizing task with recently converted Muslims as well as with pagans. Here the drama is enacted between three main cultural forces: those of "Animistic Paganism", "Islamic Culture" and "Western Culture".

This three-cornered relationship, in which the three "parent-cultures" – nowhere existing in their pure form – qualify, modify and condition each other in multiple sets of interaction, has so far not been studied by anthropologists. Students of culture contact have generally simplified the situation through their neglect of the very real social influences of Islam. This neglect of Islam is a common feature of most research on culture contact in these areas, and is due partly to ignorance (knowledge of all the three cultures involved is as yet rare), and partly to the regrettable consequences of the historical tension between the two higher religions, which have led Christians to an arbitrary underestimation of Islam.

In reality, however, there is a four-cornered relationship of culture forces, since "Western culture" (and to a much smaller extent and only recently, also "Islamic Culture") must be split into a materialistic-rationalistic aspect and a spiritual-religious aspect. It is exactly this split within "Western civilization" which is its greatest weakness for the African in whose animist culture "religion is life itself", and which makes him find a more congenial world in Islam where also "religion is not a by-product of Islamic civilization . . . but informs it".

Islam, after its rapid spread during the last century, is still advancing, more slowly now, but steadily and permanently, gaining a real hold upon the people, profoundly affecting their lives; it has become truly an African religion whose agents are African. It is gradually being assimilated without too much disruption in communal life, for it preserves the very structure of society in an Islamized form, and where it destroys it replaces by its own practical equivalents.

Christianity, after having made considerable numerical gains in limited areas, has become frozen and the Christian Churches are becoming increasingly stagnant. Christian Africans do not become propagators of the faith but, herded together in tribal or local communities, essentially foreign bodies in the land, are rather a hindrance to its spread which, whatever there is of it, is still carried out practically exclusively by aliens. Christianity has remained an alien religion and its message, unassimilated, remains peripheral to the real lives of the people. "Christianity", says the author, "neither transmutes . . . nor in its Western form has any equivalent to substitute."

Why is this so? Why can Islam be the "new cement" of African society, whereas Christianity is a "social failure"? In studying the reasons for Islam's success, the writer wrests from them the causes of Christianity's atrophy, and sterility.

The fault lies mainly on two levels.

One is the nature of Western Missions, and is rather a mistake in methods and organization. Amongst these I want to mention: the static "mission-station" approach as against Islam's mobility; the secularization of mission work in

educational and health services (tasks, little removed from those of Government, and which, because of the compromises involved, dilute the efficacy in evangelization and squander energies on secondary things); the Christian professional and qualified ministry against Islam's lay clericalism; the freedom of Islam's worship technique as against the concentration of Christian worship in Churches; Islam and its lay-clerics have a place in family festivals, whilst Christianity has maintained its sacraments and ceremonies as Church-bound affairs extraneous to the home; the spiritual starvation of congregations through the shortage of pastors, which, because of the qualifications demanded and the poor remuneration offered, is an unattractive profession to Africans.

The fault on the other level is the conflict between the inherent characteristics of the Western world, and the Western form of Christianity. That Africans find it naturally difficult to bridge the gulf between the two mutually exclusive voices with which the West speaks to them, has been mentioned already. Other inner Western conflicts such as the contrapositions of man and nature, religion and society, individual and community, which Islam does not present, and which Africans do not experience, are, though not expressly mentioned by the author, the necessary prerequisites to understanding his trend of thought.

But the writer goes further than this. In scarcely veiled language he censures Western Christians for their obstinate adherence to Western formulations of doctrines and Western forms of worship. Western Theology and Institutions, Western prayer formulas and rituals can have but little meaning for Africans.

As to the former, Europeans were, long ago, allowed to attract what was best in ancient nature rituals and transmute these in their Christianity, but their descendants do not permit African Christians to do this. Yet Christianity can never capture the soul of Africans, unless Christian truths are expressed in African ways by Africans. Hence the author emphasizes the need for a radical change in theological training and study, for only Africans themselves can remould the Christian essence to suit their spiritual needs and apply the Christian ethics to the African situation. As to the latter, "not until the African can dance and chant in Christ" will the average adherent penetrate to the inner meaning of Christianity.

Two last, but greatly challenging suggestions from the author deserve special mention. In both he allowed himself to be taught by the Islamic example:

Throughout the essay rings the demand that Western missions should cease their policy of individual conversion and choose a community approach. Instead of isolating single individuals and cutting them off from their fellows, should we not "be ready to baptize a whole village or tribe which is prepared to acknowledge Christ as saviour?" In pagan Europe whole tribes were baptized. After thus becoming nominal Christians, the process of a gradual change of heart which can only come through living the Christian message in a community, has a chance to unroll itself, under the guidance, this must be stressed, of a pastor who is himself part of the community. In thus advocating "mass-conversions" the charge of Nominalism may be uttered against him. This the author realizes fully.

Also in another point Islam seems at the same time more realistic and more clairvoyant than Christianity: It allows within its folds a wider gradation of knowledge and understanding. Whilst Christianity seems to have become the preserve of a spiritual élite, and baptism involves much study, knowledge and a high ethical standard, Islam accepts a low initial level and then leaves full scope for ascent from nominal and herd religion to the profundity of mystic life. By excluding from its folds all but the most evolved, Christianity fails to become the mass movement through which alone the transformation of society is possible.

When the author asks: "Should there not be a rigid code, a definite stereotyped teaching and a minimum of external practice to be observed by all?" he has again the example of Islam in mind. But could the Christian Churches ever agree on such a common minimum?

The author's factual statements about Islam as a religion and a civilization have long been known to Islamists the world over, and the doctrinal

differences between Islam and Christianity have been the subject of frequent and thorough study. But in investigating Islam as a force in African communities and homes, in placing it in the general context of evangelization and mission activities, in putting it up as an example from which Christianity has much to learn, and not only to fear and detest, the author is breaking entirely new ground, ground on which, I am afraid, many Christians will be averse to following him.

MIA BRANDEL

Afrikanische Studien. Herausgegeben von J. LUKAS. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für Orientforschung. Veröffentlichung Nr. 26. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin. 1955. 416 pp.

The *Afrikanische Studien* are a series of studies in Africanistic Sciences presented to Professor D. Westermann on his eightieth birthday anniversary on 24th June, 1955, by his colleagues, friends, and pupils. They were the last honour Professor Westermann was to receive in his lifetime. He died in Baden near Bremen on 31st May, 1956.

Most of the studies deal with linguistic themes while papers on African history constitute the bulk of all other contributions. Linguistic subjects include an investigation into the verb "to live" in Berber (Basset), studies on the diminutive and augmentative classes in Western Ful (Klingenheben), the peculiarities of the particle *sai* in Hausa (Lukas) and derivatives from abstract nouns of sensory quality in Hausa (Parsons), whilst in the languages of the Central Sudan a sketch of Cibak grammar (Hoffmann) is based on material collected by J. Lukas.

Studies on phonology and tonetics are put forth in the Gũ-dialect of the Ewe-group (Feyer), on the mid-tone in Yoruba (Rowlands), on the semantic tones in Nama where high and low tones are distinguished (v. Essen), and on disyllabic verbs with a high tone on the first syllable in Shambala (Meeussen).

In a further section various problems are dealt with: the origin of the name "Basotho" (v. Warmelo), extension of a tribal language (Twi) on the Gold Coast (Rapp), name-giving among the Tallensi (Fortes), and proverbs in the Lamu-dialect (Dammann).

A last series of articles is devoted to comparative linguistics and language classification. Internal *a*-plurals are traced in Afroasiatic (Hamito-semitic languages) as far as the Chado-hamitic languages (Greenberg), the rôle of the Adjective and its equivalents is described in the Bantu languages (Kähler-Meyer), relations in the formation of verb forms are found between the Tama language group in Wadai and the Didinga in the Nilotic Sudan (Bryan), and a critical investigation into the position of Meroitic shows that this language is still to be regarded as "unclassified" (Hintze).

Among the themes on African history, new information is presented on the discovery of Negro Africa under Henry the Navigator (Zechlin), and attention is drawn to a description of the Hottentots by Schreyer in 1679, i.e. forty years before Peter Kolb (Plischke).

In Archaeology, new aspects on early cultural relations of the Canary Islands are brought forth (Wölfel). Burial pots and their finds in Western Africa are described (Monod), and a study on the history and rôle of Shungwaya on the East African Coast is published (Grottanelli).

The social history of early states in the Western Sudan and Songhai is dealt with by Labouret and Oldenrogge. Melzian presents a detailed description on the festival calendar of Benin, and Krieger gives a sketch of the history of Zamfara in Northern Nigeria.

In the field of African religions, H. Baumann devotes himself to the study of the rôle of the "sun" in myths and religion. Griaule explains the rôle of the fish *Clarias senegalensis* in some myths and rites in the Western Sudan, and Boccassino describes a reconciliation rite among the Nilotic Acoli.

The rest of the articles deal with various items: indigenous culture and Christian Mission (Knak), social life in Asante (Ringwald) and ethnological comparisons between the continents (Thurnwald).

The present volume represents a rich source

of information. A considerable number of field studies offer new results and promote Africanistic Sciences, and the range of themes dealt with in the various studies characterizes the broad scale on which Westermann built up his Africanistic school.

We are grateful to all who contributed to this work. Some of them are no longer among us. Our sincere thanks are also due to the German Academy of Sciences who financed the publication.

O. KÖHLER

Syntaxis van het Lomongo. A. J. DE ROP. Universiteit te Leuven, Verzameling voor Afrikanistiek, No. 1, 1956. xiii + 142 pp.

Met hierdie werk word 'n nuwe reeks, nl. „Verzameling van het Instituut voor Afrikanistiek" deur die Katolieke Universiteit van Leuven ingelui. Dit is 'n doktorale proefskrif wat aan dié Universiteit ingehandig is en onder die leiding van Dr. A. E. Meeussen voorberei is. Dit is in stywe papierband gebind en die drukwerk is netjies versorg.

Die verskyning hiervan vul 'n leemte in die studie van Lomongo (wat ook as Lonkundo bekend staan). Die bekende *Praktische Grammatica van het Lonkundó* (*Lomóngo*) van G. Hulstaert is die volledigste beskrywing van die taal wat tot dusver beskikbaar was. Dit behandel hoofsaaklik die fonologiese, tonologiese en morfologiese aspekte van Lomongo, terwyl daar op die gebied van die sintaksis nie veel meer as 'n aantal terloopse opmerkinge verskyn nie. Hierdie leemte word aangevul met 'n beskrywende studie van die sintaksis deur 'n skrywer wie se naam alreeds aan 'n aantal publikasies oor die taal gekoppel is (bv. *De gesproken woordkunst van de Nkundó*, Leuven, 1953–4, en saam met G. Hulstaert: *Rechtspraakfabels van de Nkundó*, Tervuren, 1954).

In die voorbereiding van sy studie het die skrywer hom hoofsaaklik verlaat op De Groot se *Structurele Syntaxis* en John Ries se *Was ist Syntax?* en *Zur Wortgruppenlehre*, benewens Meeussen se reeks artikels oor „Syntaxis van het Tshiluba (Kasayi)" (*Kongo-Overzee*, IX–XIII). Hy verwys verder ook o.m. na Nida se *Outline of Descriptive Syntax*, Doke se *Zulu Syntax and Idiom* en Jensen se „Ausgewählte Kapitel aus der Syntax des Suaheli" (*Z.E.S.*, XIII), maar uit sy hele benadering en terminologie blyk dit dat hy hom nie veel deur hulle laat beïnvloed het nie.

Die werk is opgestel in drie dele, nl. „De Woordgroepen", „De Zin" en „De Samengestelde Zin". Die woordgroep word gedefinieer as „een nevenschikkende of onderschikkende combinatie van woorden" (bl. 1), en die skrywer besluit dan dat Lomongo hoofsaaklik onderskikkende woordgroepe ken, d.w.s. woordgroepe wat uit 'n kern en 'n bepaling bestaan. Die verskillende soorte woordgroepe word ingedeel volgens die rededeel waartoe die kerns behoort. Daar word dan 'n hoofstuk elk gewy aan substantiefgroepe, voornaamwoordgroepe, bywoordgroepe, konnektiefgroepe, voorsetsel-groepe, *ngá*-groepe en werkwoordgroepe. Onder die hoofstuk oor konnektiefgroepe word aandag gegee aan wat in Suid-Afrika miskien meer bekend is as possessiefkonstruksies. Voorsetselgroepe sluit o.m. lokatiewe konstruksies in, terwyl die *ngá*-groep sterk herinner aan konstruksies wat in Venda m.b.v.d. morfeem *sa* gevorm word. Onder elke hoofstuk word die materiaal dan verder onderverdeel volgens die sintaktiese funksie van die bepalings.

Die tweede deel bestaan uit drie hoofstukke wat onderskeidelik gewy is aan nominale sinne, verbale sinne en spesiale sinsoorte. In e.g. hoofstuk behandel die skrywer konstruksies wat normaalweg as „nominale sinne" of „substantiewe sinne" bestempel word, asook 'n hele aantal konstruksies wat in die Suid-Afrikaanse studie van die Bantoetale bekend geword het as kopulatiewe. Die laaste hoofstuk handel oor vraagsinne, bevel-sinne en relatiewe sinne.

In die derde deel word die sameplasing van twee of meer gelyke vorme of 'n hoofvorm en 'n byvorm bespreek. Dit val uiteen in twee hoofstukke, nl. een oor die sameplasing van woordgroepe en sinne, en een oor die sameplasing van meer as een sin. Die tweede hoofstuk neem die meeste ruimte in beslag en word gewy aan neweskikkende sinsverband, onderskikkende sinsverband, rela-

tiefsinne i.v.m. hoofsinne, konnektiefsinne, en sinsverbindinge met voegwoorde.

Die skrywer bedien hom van 'n metode van woordverdeling wat as „semi-konjunktief" beskrywe kan word, d.w.s. die werkwoord word konjunktief geskrywe, terwyl ander konstruksies soos possessiewe, kopulatiewe en lokatiewe disjunktief geskrywe word. Dit is dieselfde metode wat gebruik word in 'n hele aantal ander publikasies oor die taal, insluitende Hulstaert se grammatika. Al die voorbeelde word tonologies geskrywe – iets waaraan die Belgiese Bantoetaalkundiges ons reeds gewoon gemaak het, en wat gerus ook gedoen kan word in die wetenskaplike studies van die Bantoetale van ons land.

Die skrywer hou hom deurgaans by 'n beskrywende studie van die sintaksis, en waag hom, behalwe vir die gee van enkele definisies, nie aan 'n teoretiese bespreking van sy uitgangspunt en benaderingswyse nie. Dit is jammer dat dit die geval is, aangesien dit die leser in die eerste plek nie die geleentheid bied om sy werksmetode krities te beoordeel nie. In die tweede plek sou 'n uiteensetting van die teoretiese grondslag die studie van die sintaksis in die ander Bantoetale gestimuleer het, net soos bv. Doke, Guthrie, e.a. se bydraes op die gebied van woordverdeling die studie van Bantoe-morfologie beinvloed het. Die sintaksis is juis dié aspek van die Bantoetaalstudie wat tot dusver onnodiglik veel afgeskeep is, miskien juis omdat so 'n grondslag nog ontbreek het.

Dr. De Rop se studie moet nietemin beskou word as 'n tydige en welkome bydrae tot die literatuur oor die Bantoetale in die algemeen en van Lomongo in die besonder.

E. B. VAN WYK.

The Development of Social Administration. R. K. GARDINER and H. O. JUDD. Oxford University Press, London. 1954. 10*s*. 6*d*.

This book is intended to serve as a guide to administrators who are building up social services in under-developed countries. British West Africa, of which the authors have special knowledge, is dealt with specifically, but the analysis of the social situation and their suggestions are applicable to any community undergoing rapid industrialization.

The authors describe graphically the breakdown of West African tribal organization as a result of rapidly-advancing technology. Mr. Gardiner and Miss Judd have a refreshing approach to the problems of social disorganization which are the all too frequent consequences of industrialization. To them the essence of these difficulties is to be found in the loss of the individual's sense of responsibility to the group. As people move out of their small tribal groups into larger urban communities, group awareness or what sociologists term the "we-feeling" disappears. As tribal mores break down and men in the cities become involved in the fierce competitive struggle for a livelihood, they lose interest in the well-being of their neighbours and their wider community. This is only one facet of the problem of decaying tribalism, but as the authors rightly point out, it is an important one for the social administrator to examine. It is implicit in this approach that responsibility for social services should rest with the people themselves. The development of local authorities as agencies for providing social services is stressed. This is one of the main ways in which the community can be interested in its own social welfare needs. It is suggested too, that councillors serving on local councils should not be paid, in order to develop a sense of service to their fellows.

This book can be commended above all for its very practical approach. The government official or social worker concerned with the provision of social services will find a wealth of information here. For example the role of industry in social services is examined, and the conclusion reached is that industry can accomplish a great deal. However the idea of developing individual responsibility is a persistent theme in this book, and it is felt that benevolent paternalism, if pushed too far, will hinder the realization of this ideal of individual initiative. Co-operative societies like the Gold Coast Co-operative Marketing Association, which markets the farmers' cocoa crop, is cited as an example of how Africans can

organize to help themselves. It must be remembered however, that to carry schemes like this still further, considerable advances in educational standards will first be necessary.

The authors do not lose sight of what they term the "vulnerable groups" in the community – those groups who are forced into some degree of dependency. These include the aged, the sick, the crippled and children deprived of parental support. Legal provisions for the care of these groups do exist in West Africa, but the authors feel that the emphasis should be on rehabilitation rather than on giving assistance. A leper settlement at Itu is quoted as an example of sound rehabilitation. All 3,000 lepers are trained for re-employment. While receiving treatment at the settlement they work and are paid for what they produce, instead of being a complete burden to society. Once again it can be said that if schemes such as these are to be implemented West Africa will have to train social workers in increasing numbers. Preventive and curative services for the juvenile delinquent are also outlined. It is of some interest for the South African reader to note that corporal punishment is considered by the authors to be useless in treating the African juvenile delinquent. They advocate rather the extension of youth clubs and educational institutions.

We have in this book a sound blueprint for the development of welfare schemes in West Africa. Throughout the book parallels are drawn with development in Britain. The social administrator can therefore benefit from British experience in this field and avoid the mistakes of the past. Many of the schemes envisaged here will need time – time to educate personnel and time to educate public opinion – but what is particularly good about this study is that it is well-written, very much to the point, and it does serve to throw responsibility for welfare needs back to each individual, where it rightly belongs.

BERYL UNTERHALTER.

Linguistische schets van het Bangubangu. A. E. MEEUSSEN. Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren. 1954.

Soos die titel van hierdie werkie aandui, is dit 'n skets en maak die skrywer geen aanspraak op volledigheid nie. Die taalkundige gegewens is dan ook aan moderne standaarde gemeet beknop gestel maar nietemin waardevol.

In die Inleiding word die leser meegedeel dat soos in die moderne fonologie 'n foneem gerealiseer word deur 'n klank, die morfologie (die skrywer noem dit 'n strukturele vorm) gerepresenteer word in 'n fonologiese vorm, wat op sy beurt weer gerealiseer word in 'n fonetiese. Daar is vir hom dus drie vlakke (nivean's): 'n strukturele, 'n fonologiese en 'n fonetiese. In die eerste word 'n woord opgebreek in sy samestellende vormelemente wat egter nie die grondvorms nie maar soos hulle voorkom in „verwante vorms" (? tale) is. Dit beteken dat 'n woord gelyktydig in drie ortografieë kan voorkom. Ongelukkig verduidelik die skrywer nie wat die nut is van sy strukturele vorm nie want dis geensins duidelik wat hy met sy strukturele vorm by die leser wil tuisbring nie. Indien hy die sg. Oerbantoevorms bygehaal het, kon hulle moontlik vir vergelykende doeleindes hul nut gehad het.

Die tweede gedeelte handel oor fonologie. Die klanksisteem van die taal is betreklik eenvoudig. 'n Mens word telkens getref deur die skrywer se voorliefde vir alles wat met toon in verband staan. Die geheelindruk is dat toon by hom 'n veel vernamer rol speel as ander morfologiese elemente van die taal. Die toonpatroon van die taal is dan ook baie ingewikkeld. Dr. Meeussen slaag daarin om die reëls vir die toonpatroon van die taal vas te lê. Ook hier word onderskei tussen 'n toon wat by die strukturele vorm behoort en een wat by die gerealiseerde (of is dit die gerepresenteerde) vorm tuishoort, bv. *nà-ki-ala : nakyâla*. Hoe hy aan eg. kom word nie verduidelik nie.

By die toonstudie word allerlei terme gebruik, bv. determinant en neutralisasie. Uit die voorbeelde wil dit voorkom asof sommige hiervan toonassimilasie of -dissimilasie kan wees. Sy uiteensetting van lengte by vokale is interessant. Blykbaar hang dit saam met die voorafgaande of volgende toon. Jammer dat hy nie iets oor klem ook meedeel nie.

Onder die morfologiese gedeelte mis 'n mens,

bv. dadelik 'n tabel van alle skakels (konkords) (die skrywer noem hulle konnektiewe) en voornaamwoordvorms. Uit die aangehaalde voorbeelde is slegs die besitskakels (par. 36) volledig. Die demonstratiewe word ook volledig weergegee (par. 39).

Opvallend is natuurlik die terminologie wat heeltemal verskillend is van dié wat in Suid-Afrika gebruiklik is. Terminologie is in elk geval eintlik 'n kwessie van smaak solank die leser weet wat daarmee bedoel word. Dit is egter vreemd dat 'n bywoordvormende element soos *na–* saam met kopulatiewe *ni–* gegroepeer word.

Daar is verskeie interessante verskynsels in die taal. Sou daarin ook miskien 'n verskil wees tussen wat in Suid-Afrika adjektiewe en ralatiewe genoem word? Vgl. die stamme in par. 35 met dié in par. 41. Hier word blykbaar twee soorte „adjektiewe" verteenwoordig. 'n Ander interessante verskynsel is *'i* (par. 49) wat 'n soort kopulatiewe demonstratief vorm.

Die werkwoord bied ongetwyfeld 'n weie veld vir verdere studie. Interessant is hier die feit dat nie net die eerste persoon enkelvoud se onderwerpskakel by die ontkenning verander nie, maar ook dié van die tweede persoon en klas 1.

Die voorbeelde met *–ini* in par. 34 het interessant genoeg hul parrallelle in die Nguni-tale van Suid-Afrika, bv. *umninimuzi* (eienaar van die stat). Die nomenstam *–ini* (besitter eienaar) is natuurlik elders goed bekend.

'n Mens sou nog veel meer interessante verskynsels in hierdie taal kon noem. Ons kan slegs hoop dat Dr. Meeussen nog meer van die taal vir ons sal kan aanbied.

Dr. Meeussen se aanbieding is natuurlik vir die Suid-Afrikaanse student heel ongewoon, maar daarom nie minder interessant nie. Ons mis egter daarin 'n duidelike aanduiding van die skrywer se motiewe. Ons sou graag meer wou weet van Dr. Meeussen se teorieë, veral oor die verskil tussen die strukturele en ander vorms, ook waar dit op toon betrekking het. Op die oomblik laat die aanbieding die indruk dat dit eenvoudiger „gerepresenteer" kon gewees het.

Ons verwelkom die Belgiese Regering se belangstelling in o.a. die tale van die Kongo. Dr. Meeussen se onderhawige bydrae lewer nie net interessante nuwe gegéwens oor die taalkundige probleme van die Kongo nie maar verreik ook die algemene linguistiek van Afrika en hy verdien ons dank daarvoor.

D.Z.

Das Doppelte Geschlecht: Ethnologische Studien zur Bisexualität in Ritus und Mythos. HERMANN BAUMANN. Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin. 1955. 420 pp. 5 maps. Price: 30 DM.

In a comprehensive volume the well-known German anthropologist Professor H. Baumann puts forth the result of his long years of study of bisexuality in culture history. The theme dealt with in its various ramifications presents itself as one of the most fascinating phenomena of the Archaic high cultures in which man began to consider the nature of God as being bisexual. Through this idea, bisexual men appeared in a new light and were believed to be endowed with special religious qualities and functions. Bisexuality found its way into myths and rites and gradually constituted a complex phenomenon. Thence it spread, with the eradication of the Archaic high cultures, into neighbouring areas and primitive societies where concepts and customs connected with bisexuality can be traced in the past and present time.

The author opens his investigation with an analysis of the ritual change of sex among peoples of all continents, except Australia where such rites have remained unknown (Chapt. I). He deals with the exchange of male and female sex potencies which raise the effectiveness of human activities, viz. the exchange of clothes and the exchange of qualities of the "soul" of both sexes (Chapt. II). The idea that man can inherit a male and female soul from his patrilineal and matrilineal ancestors, in societies with a corresponding division into male and female lineages or clans (dual systems), is linked up with the idea of the existence of "bisexual" souls in which the female element in some cases represents the body-soul, whilst the

male element appears to be more closely associated with the spiritual life of man (Chapt. III). There is, however, a great variety in all ideas and concepts. At the end of this chapter on "Bisexual souls" the author shows the influence of bisexualism on pre-scientific ideas about conception.

Detailed material quoted from Eurasia, Africa, the Pacific and America for the existence of bisexual gods and ghosts, including the bisexual moon and rainbow in mythology (Chapt. IV) sheds light on the religious background not only of the ritual change of sex but of the whole phenomenon of bisexualism. "Bisexualism and the Cosmogony Myth" (Chapt. V) introduces us to a rich field of mythology and peculiarities of human thinking such as the division of institutions into a right and a left side connected with male and female aspects respectively. Chapt. VI contains the conclusions derived from the comprehensive material. The author points out the manifold interconnections which exist between bisexualism as a complex of ideas and customs and the biological nature of man in the light of modern scientific research.

H. Baumann's monumental *opus* is one of the most important contributions to the understanding of relevant cultural and religious problems, and it becomes evident that Human Sciences need more such surveys on a great comparative scale. We are grateful to Professor Baumann for this work which appears to be indispensable to all who strive for a deeper insight into the fundamental features of mankind. O. KÖHLER.

Uhlelo LwesiZulu. C.L. SIBUSISO NYEMBEZI. Shuter and Shooter, Pietermaritzburg. 1956. xii + 245 pp.

Professor C. L. S. Nyembezi's latest publication is a grammar of Zulu written in Zulu for use in Bantu schools. On a previous occasion this reviewer reviewed a similar book by another author (*African Studies*, 13, 3–4, 1954, pp. 159–60), and it was a matter of considerable dismay and concern that a book of that quality could find its way into the hands of young Africans engaged in studying the structural complexities of their mother tongue. Professor Nyembezi's book is a work of very different quality however, and Zulu school children are indeed fortunate that they now have available a lucid and stimulating guide in their studies.

In broad outline *Uhlelo LwesiZulu* is based on Professor C. M. Doke's analysis of Zulu (*A Textbook of Zulu Grammar*), but is far from being merely a collection of translated excerpts from Doke's grammar. The author is prepared to think for himself on questions of grammatical analysis and its presentation. There is, for example, his treatment of the relative, where he includes quantitatives based on *–dwa* as a group of forms with a strong potentiality for combination with relative concords, thus reflecting a common usage in colloquial Zulu. Professor Nyembezi has selected and graded those aspects of Zulu structure whose presence he regards as essential in a book of this kind and reveals them in progressive stages in a manner which is obviously the fruit of much thought and preparation. In the first part of the book he commences with a preliminary discussion on the verb (varieties of verb stems, imperatives, verbal concords, monoverbal indicative mood tenses and verbal derivatives, in that order) and then proceeds to the noun and the analysis of simple sentences.

His method of introducing his young readers to the material which he presents is aimed at stimulating their interest. He eschews vague definition for thorough preliminary explanation based on actual examples. His introduction to the verbal derivative species, for example, is simply a list of sentences in each one of which a different verbal derivative based on the stem *–funa* is presented. To illustrate the separateness yet interdependence of word classes, he takes as a simile the cow and its horns, ears, legs, etc., which collectively go to make the whole. Professor Nyembezi has borne in mind the cultural background and capabilities of his readers and has produced a book designed to fit that background.

Although there is little to criticize in this book, there are some unsatisfactory features such as the treatment of "stative" verbs and aspects of adverbial formation. Certain morphological features in Zulu justify the separate treatment of stative verbs, as, for instance, the alternative

forms of the perfect stem of many stative verbs (e.g. *-thwele* / *-thwalile*), but the author provides only the conventional treatment which centres on peculiarities of meaning. Grammatical analysis based on pure meaning is unsatisfactory even in a book of this kind, and provides only part of the true picture of the stative verb in Zulu. Among the adverbial formatives, a suffix *-na* is recognized and exemplified in: *Sambona msukwana* (< *msukwa-na*) *womgidi kadadewethu*. That *-na* is not an adverbial suffix but merely part of the common diminutive suffix *-ana* used with substantives and qualificatives, is clearly shown by another example given, viz. *khashana*, which is the diminutive form of the stem *-khathi*, e.g. *isikhashana* (a short time) < *isikhathi-ana*.

The newly devised Zulu linguistic terminology is used in this book in reference to all aspects of linguistic analysis and it is gratifying to see how the language has now equipped itself with a vocabulary to cover a field in which it previously lacked expression. It is an eloquent answer to those African advocates of the abandonment of the mother tongue and its replacement by a European language, because of deficiencies in vocabulary in certain fields of human knowledge.

This relatively inexpensive little book appears in a form which is attractive yet serviceable for the rough treatment of the classroom. In a literary field where printing errors are commonplace, all credit must go to the printer (and proof reader) for a general absence of errors of this kind. Skilful use of three different type faces provides the necessary contrast between the linguistic material under discussion and the descriptive text.

A realization of just how unsuitable books of this type can be when produced by the unqualified, raises a fervent hope that *Uhlelo LwesiZulu* will be adopted in all Bantu schools where Zulu is taught, not only in the Union of South Africa, but also in the Ndebele area of Southern Rhodesia where Zulu grammars are in use in schools.

L. W. LANHAM.

The Nature of African Customary Law. T. OLAWALE ELIAS. Manchester University Press. 1956. 318 pp. 30*s*.

In writing this book the author was moved by his desire to defend African legal ideas and practices against those who belittle their value. That was no doubt a worthy aim but to accomplish it requires not only a wide knowledge but sound judgment in a field where these qualities are not very common. In a few pages Mr. Elias has tried to write off the "erroneous" attitudes towards African law held by missionaries, administrators, and English lawyers. This indictment is, however, supported by meagre evidence, consisting mostly of a few sentences extracted from the writings of an earlier generation.

Mr. Elias set out to show that tribal Africans (but he really means West Africans, if not merely Nigerians) have a theory and a practice of law that has been sadly underrated. To establish this claim, however, he deals only with a few major concepts, such as status, ownership, and liability for wrongs. What is lacking in his treatment is a proper historical view of the growth of law and an appreciation of the inevitable relation between law and the society it serves, an aspect mentioned only on the last page. This larger and longer view could be built on materials apparently unfamiliar to the author, who displays only a limited knowledge of the best recent work in this field. He makes little reference to the major works of Seagle, Felix Cohen, Hoebel, Diamond or Hobhouse, from all of whom there is much to be learnt.

After the author's useful books on Nigerian law, this excursion into jurisprudence is disappointing. Its weakness is due primarily to his uncritical acceptance of the view of law current among certain anthropologists. A lawyer should not have succumbed so easily to pressure from that quarter.

JULIUS LEWIN.

Khirimpana. J. KHATHATSO RATAU. Morija Sesuto Book Depot, Basutoland. 1955. 84 pp., illus. 4*s*. 6*d*.

This book is one more proof of the correctness of the contention that the old form of poetry used in the praise-poems (*lithôkô*) of Southern Sotho chiefs can still be used as a suitable form for other subjects. In this case we have a narrative poem that tells of one Khirimpana, a young man who has

grown up in the Butha-Buthe district of Basutoland. He is on his first journey to the gold mines in Johannesburg. The author tells of his journey, his arrival in Johannesburg, his work there, his return home. The money that has been saved for his *bohali* or *lobolo* is not enough and so he has to go to the diamond mines in Kimberley. Finally he returns and marries.

It is a simple story that is told simply, without any great detail. But it is done in language that is really beautiful; the greater part of it is not told, it is perhaps better to say that it is "sung" in the rhythmic style of the old praise-poems. It is in a language that is highly idiomatic while in his careful choice of words the author reveals a rich vocabulary such as is not commonly found in Southern Sotho books these days. But even this wealth of vocabulary has not prevented him from using local Sotho-ized borrowings such as are found on the mines.

At the end of the book, there is a section devoted to notes. This is usually a painful omission in almost all publications of praise-poems. Unfortunately the author concentrated only on explaining the difficult or unusual words and expressions. While this is useful, it is not absolutely necessary, for any reader who is really keen and has a good dictionary can solve these. What no reader can ever solve on his own are the names used in the books. It is on these that notes are required. When the author describes Khirimpana as "*nong la lomo tsa Hololo*" (The vulture of the Hololo cliffs), how many readers know what Hololo is? The same applies to the other names used in the poem.

The illustration is quite attractive though one wonders whether the *lesiba* musical instrument is not out of place here.

One regrets to find in this work the ridiculous, and, in Sotho, quite meaningless, literal translation of the English "by" on the title-page. I refer to the *ka* which has been making its appearance in recent Sotho books: *Khirimpana* ka *J. Khaihatso Ratau.* And of course the usual *ke* in this context is equally ridiculous: *Khirimpana* ke *J. K. Ratau* would mean simply, "Khirimpana *is* J. K. Ratau". Why not the completely correct and unambiguous *mongoli ke* . . . (the author is . . .), or *e ngotsoe ke* . . . (written by . .)? Incidentally, authors and publishers of Nguni books also have frequently been guilty of the same type of error. S. M. M.

Funeral Dirges of the Akan People. J. H. Nketia. University College, Achimota, Gold Coast. 1955. 296 pp. Samples of musical transcriptions.

This excellent work marks a relatively new departure in the study of African songs because it is the critical analysis of an African art form by a mature African. No matter how well the foreigner may learn the language of the people he studies, he remains an observer from without. Mr. J. H. Nketia gives an objective account of the funeral dirges of his own country from the point of view of one who is not only an observer, but who also shares the emotional and spiritual virtues of the occasion.

The examples studied and translated into English come mostly from the Twi and Fante speaking peoples of the Gold Coast. From the first to the last page one is enveloped in the authentic atmosphere of a serious village tragedy, as a participant sharing in the symbolism through which the mourners express their personal sorrow and anguish and their public respect for the dead.

One of the more important elements in the celebration of an Akan funeral is the dirge, with its wealth of historic family or clan references. The author gives an admirable description of the social setting of the events surrounding a funeral, describing in detail the behaviour patterns which are expected of relatives and other members of the community. In addition, he extracts the poetic elements of the dirge in a manner which no-one but a participant could emulate. It is perhaps in this regard that this work appears to be most significant.

There are delightful touches throughout the narrative which reveal intimate knowledge of the emotions of the villagers, their little vanities and their frank enjoyment of the occasion as they unfold themselves in traditional action and conventional signs.

" . . . the singing of the dirge [by the women] is

usually not an organized performance. . . . Each singer sings dirges of her own choice, often without regard to what others may be singing or how they may be singing them."

"Women mourners do not stop their dirges while the funeral lasts but there is nothing to prevent them from taking a good rest from time to time."

If a woman failed to sing a dirge at the funeral "she would be badly criticized, and possibly suspected of having something to do with the death."

"A good singer wins in emotional appeal, she moves her audience . . . mock-sadness is discouraged. A tear should fall, lest you are branded a witch or a callous person. If a tear is physiologically difficult to shed, you must induce it by some means; . . . it would be better to have the marks of tears on your face than nothing at all."

The imagery of much of the texts of the dirges is largely meaningless to those who do not belong to the community and its continuity. Yet even in translation, shorn of the tonal beauty of the actual words in the vernacular, there are many arresting passages which demonstrate the ability of their composers to create poetic allusion.

On the other hand, faced with so much material which can contain significance for only a select and limited few, in particular the constant genealogical references liberally sprinkled throughout most of the songs, one must inevitably draw the conclusion that the dirges of the Akan, in common with so many other African praise songs, are not to be assessed by either their literary quality or their ultimate meaning, but rather by their effectiveness in evoking or demonstrating community of interests, feelings and action within local society.

That the true assessment of their success in this direction can only be gauged by sensitive and cultured Africans has been clearly demonstrated by the appearance of this book, which one hopes will be the forerunner of many similar studies.

H.T.

G. H. FRANZ: AN APPRECIATION

Gottfried Heinrich Franz was born on 30th September 1896 on the Berlin Lutheran mission station Mphome, near Houtbosdorp in the Pietersburg district. His father, the Rev. R. R. Franz, was the missionary there, and later at Kratzenstein, where G. H. Franz spent his boyhood days and received his first schooling. After some years at the farm school at Kalkbank, then at Elsburg, followed by a period in Pietersburg, he matriculated at Boys High School, Pretoria, in 1914. He then went to the Transvaal University College, Pretoria, where he obtained the B.A. degree and the Higher Teachers Diploma.

He began teaching in Pietersburg in August 1919, and throughout his professional career he remained first and foremost a teacher. Those of us who knew him as an Inspector knew how easy it was to tempt him into taking over a class, and how much he enjoyed these excursions in the classroom. His first contacts with Native teachers were during the years 1919-26 when he helped Mr. J. C. Johns, Inspector of Native Schools at Pietersburg, with refresher courses for teachers, held regularly on Saturdays and during vacations.

This interest led to his appointment, in May 1926, as Inspector of Native Education at Bloemfontein, with the whole of the Free State as his circuit. Four years later he transferred to the Transvaal, where he was stationed in Pretoria for the remainder of his career, except for the period 1942-5 when he was Inspector at Pietersburg. In August 1947 he succeeded Dr. W. W. M. Eiselen as Chief Inspector of Native Education in the Transvaal. After the creation of the new Division of Bantu Education Mr. Franz was transferred to the Head Office of the Division, where he took charge of language problems and the preparation of teachers' lesson guides. His retirement from the Department in September 1956 was followed shortly afterwards by his untimely death.

As educationist, linguist and writer G. H. Franz has left a deep impression on those with whom he worked. Because of his reputation as a writer there is sometimes a tendency to forget that his life's work was that of an educationist, and that he spent thirty years in the service of the

schools. He never allowed himself to be swamped by routine day-to-day administration in his work as an Inspector ; he had certain clear aims and a vital philosophy that shone through everything he did. He inspired rather than dragooned his teachers, saw them always as persons, not as cogs in a machine. Before his retirement he was to see come to fruition two of the ideals for which he had worked throughout his career. The one was the use of the mother-tongue medium in Bantu schools up to Standard 6. The other was the idea of community participation in the local administration of schools, and the closer linking of school and community in the education of Bantu children. Both have been positive contributions to the present system of Bantu Education, and the fruit of years of pioneering under difficult conditions.

While his memory will always be a precious one to those who worked with him in the field of education, he will be best remembered by a wider public for his literary work. He was at home in six languages : German, English, Afrikaans, Northern Sotho, Tswana and Southern Sotho. Some of his earliest work was in English*: Makinta Tales* and *Tau, the Chieftain's Son* are perhaps the best known, and show early promise of that remarkable insight into, and sympathy with, the life of the Bantu that was to be the hallmark of all his work. This sympathy was never to degenerate into sentimentality ; he wrote with a sure touch, of real people. Perhaps, at most, now and again one could detect a slight nostalgia for the days of his youth, and the easier relations of those days.

It was in Afrikaans that he was to find his most effective medium for sketches and stories of Bantu life. Thousands of readers came to know Franz through his serials in *Die Huisgenoot :* stories such as *Moloisi die Wyse*, *Moeder Poulin*, which he himself regarded as his magnum opus, *Rabodutu*, *Kobus*. In nearly every one of these books the ideal of co-operation, of understanding between the Bantu and White people, is the central thought. Through such books, and the material he prepared for the radio, he has helped many to a deeper understanding and appreciation of the Native peoples of South Africa ; that in itself is no mean contrib ution towards good relations. In his last year, *Mooi Loop*, an anthology of short stories and sketches by various Afrikaans writers, was published ; and just before his death his latest novel, *Dillo*. Other novels and a drama are still in the press.

His Afrikaans style owed much to Sotho idiom, to the Sotho which he regarded almost as his mother-tongue, so much a part of him was it ; it is this which has given his Afrikaans writing its unique tang, its richness of imagination. This artistic quality of imagination is present in his Sotho writings, too, but always within the discipline of the language, as seen in his well known *Maaberone*. One of my treasured recollections is the joy Mr. Franz took in advising on the production of this drama by a group of Bantu student-teachers ; his enthusiasm was unbounded and it communicated itself to the young actors.

Most of his writing in Sotho was of books for school use, of which the following can be mentioned : The *Dibuka* reading series in Northern Sotho, edited by him ; the *Menate* reading series in Northern Sotho ; two reading books in S. Sotho : *Puku ea Bana ea ho qala* and *Mmula-khora* (in its 21st impression) ; the *Maitekello* series of three reading books for European Schools, based on the direct method : *Phulamadibogo*, *Matshelo* and *Bosothong ; Sotho Grammar* and *Sotho Vocabulary*, prepared in collaboration with the late T. P. Mathabathe ; *Thellenyane:* a N. Sotho Grammar in the medium of Afrikaans ; *Motsoso-lenyora I and II :* language text books for school use, in N. Sotho.

As valuable as his own work in the field of the Sotho languages was the encouragement that he gave to numerous Bantu writers, for whom he had pioneered the way. He believed in the capacity of Bantu writers to develop their own literature, and gave of his own talent and experience unstintingly when they called upon him for help.

Whether in the classroom, in conference with his colleagues, in council with the old men, in intimate discussion with a friend, in his enthusiastic pursuit of the ideal of one "Sotho" language, there was a human warmth and an infectious vitality about him that always evoked a positive response in others. It is this same quality of humanity shared that shines through all his stories, and for which we shall miss him. K. B. H